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The Week

WHAT may prove to be a very important period in American history began with Monday of last week, when the Supreme Court declared the National Industrial Recovery Act to be unconstitutional. The Court also overturned the Frazier-Lemke farm-mortgage-moratorium law, and ruled that President Roosevelt had exceeded his powers in forcing the resignation of the late William E. Humphries from the Federal Trade Commission. Although there had been many predictions that the Supreme Court would find against the N.R.A., the actual decision came with stunning force to the administration. Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers had refrained from working out plans of procedure in case the Court decision were adverse, presumably not wishing to admit any possibility that their vast and complicated edifice had been built upon the sand; and when the news came, days elapsed before there was any hint of possible procedure. On Friday President Roosevelt, in an unprecedented interview with newspaper men, criticized the N.R.A. decision in extraordinarily strong terms. He said that it took us back to "the horse-and-buggy days of 1789" and that within the next five or ten years, the American people must decide whether or not this country, alone among the great nations of the world, shall forbid to its central government control over social and economic conditions affecting the welfare of the whole population. The President's statement was promptly interpreted as a hint that he intended to seek an amendment to the Constitution specifically granting to the federal authorities the powers exercised by the N.R.A. There was lively speculation as to whether he would also support an amendment, or possibly a law passed by Congress, forbidding the Supreme Court to declare legislation unconstitutional or restricting its power to do so.

THE Blue Eagle found more friends in death than it had during its lifetime. Its opponents on the left, who justly criticized the N.R.A. because it had failed to raise real wages, had hoped that new legislation protecting the worker might be passed before the code regulations regarding minimum wages, maximum hours and the elimination of child labor were destroyed. The American Federation of Labor regarded the Supreme Court decision as a reverse; and the correctness of this view seemed confirmed as reports began to come in of wage cuts and increases in the working week. The decision, which swept away nearly all mediation machinery, was blamed at least in part for the threatened strike of 450,000 soft-coal miners, scheduled to begin June 17. Appeals were made in many quarters that code standards should be maintained by voluntary agreement, and a number of large firms promised that this would be done. Realistic observers, however, were wholly skeptical of the efficacy of such efforts. They remembered that for a long time after the depression began, such appeals were made and proved ineffective. In every industry, they pointed out, there is a ruthless minority that can be depended upon to cut its prices by cutting its labor cost. Under the jungle morality of competition, the rest of the industry must follow suit. Many business men who had complained that the N.R.A. restricted their liberties were disconcerted at the sudden prospect of cutthroat standards. Persons interested in the abolition of child labor declared that the decision was a body blow to them; their only hope now is the constitutional amendment that

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has been making such glacierlike progress of late. Wall Street's verdict on the decision was also adverse. After a day of indecision prices turned downward and continued to sag throughout the week.

IN POLITICAL circles it was agreed that the N.R.A. decision probably gave the President a tremendous advantage in the effort to be reëlected in 1936. The N.R.A. was a failure; it would have expired in less than three weeks, unless continued by Congress, and hope had been abandoned that this would be done without greatly weakening and curtailing the measure. Now, the political wiseacres point out, the President can go to the country with the argument that just as the N.R.A. began to be truly effective, the Court killed it. His alibi is perfect; so is his issue in the next presidential race. If he gets the new legislation he is seeking, during the next seventeen months, he can demand that the execution of the new New Deal should be entrusted to the fathers of the old one. If the fresh legislation is not forthcoming when the campaign begins, he can ask reëlection in order to obtain it. Mr. Roosevelt is a shrewd political campaigner, and there is no doubt that he could recapture—has doubtless already recaptured—some of the support among the progressives that had slipped away from him during the past year. From his point of view, nothing could be better than such a new party, a coalition of conservative Republicans and conservative Democrats, perhaps headed by Al Smith, as has lately been discussed. A bolt of the reactionaries in his own party would enormously increase his political strength in the country as a whole.

THE chief developments abroad during the past week have been the Indian earthquake, the fall of the French Cabinet, the sudden tension between Japan and China, open warfare between Italy and Ethiopia and three important developments in Great Britain—the proposed changes in her Cabinet, the military discussions with Germany and the sudden request for further "coöperation" with the United States. The toll of life in the Indian earthquake is now estimated at 40,000, making the disaster one of the worst in modern times. It would be theoretically possible to rehouse the population of all earthquake zones to prevent any serious mortality in the event of future temblors, but the imagination reels at the cost and difficulty of such an undertaking. In France, Flandin is succeeded by Bouisson, who will continue to wrestle with the financial and economic difficulties that his predecessor found insoluble. Bouisson asks a suspension of parliamentary interference at least until next November; his chief peril is the possibility of the dissolution of the Chamber because of increased strength on the Left; the Communists and Socialists again gained heavily in last Sunday's election in various suburbs of Paris and are beginning to believe they might find themselves with greatly increased strength in a new Parliament.

TENSION between China and Japan has greatly increased during the past few days. Japanese military officials are threatening to include the whole Peiping-Tientsin district in North China in the demilitarized zone set up two years ago. Once again we are told that the Japanese militarists have taken the bit in their teeth and are overruling the government at Tokyo. How much reality lies behind this distinction it is impossible to say; many Far Eastern observers have long believed that Japan intended to assume complete sovereignty in Northern China sooner or later as part of her plan to dominate the whole country, in an economic sense and to whatever extent is necessary, in a military sense. In Great Britain, the plan to get rid of Mr. MacDonald seems to be going forward according to schedule. In the wave of patriotic emotion created by the Jubilee, and partly whipped up for this very purpose, Mr. MacDonald is to be retired as Prime Minister and succeeded by Stanley Baldwin. Mr. J. H. Thomas is also to leave his post as Dominions Minister, and Sir John Simon will no longer be Foreign Minister, a post he has filled with singular ineptitude. A minor place in the government, which is now openly a Conservative one, will be found for Mr. MacDonald. In the field of British foreign affairs, the week has seen military discussions with Germany that seem foredoomed to failure, since Hitler is determined to rearm the country in all possible directions and to the highest possible degree. It has also seen speeches by Stanley Baldwin and Captain Eden hinting broadly at the desire for close coöperation with the United States, speeches to which President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull have responded in amiable but vague terms. Some Americans fear that what the British have in mind is naval coöperation in the Pacific intended to protect the interests of both countries in the Far East against possible Japanese aggression. If this is what the British are considering, it goes without saying that it should be fiercely resisted by all Americans who wish to see this country saved from a needless and disastrous war.

NO SOONER had heavy rains in the dust-storm region relieved the terror of dryness than floods brought a disaster of wetness. Whether there is sunshine or rain, the plight of the section is irremediable by nature; only intelligent man-made action will serve. Both drought and flood carry on erosion; if the soil is not blown away it is washed away. The effect of both could be minimized only by large-scale erosion control. Does this form a large enough part of the new relief program? We hope so; we also hope that a long-time project is being laid out to be carried on irrespective of giving work to the unemployed.

VIOLATIONS of civil liberties continue to increase at American educational institutions. Since our last issue, Granville Hicks, an editor of The New Masses and an avowed Communist, has

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been summarily dismissed as professor of English at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute after six years of service on the faculty. Bryn Mawr College, in the midst of a $1,000,000 endowment campaign among its conservative alumnae, has banished to Pomona, New York, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, which has been held on the campus for the past fourteen years. The University of Chicago has officially banned the local units of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the National Student League. Six students of the Columbia University Medical School were dismissed for participating in an anti-war demonstration, adding to the previous total of three technicians and two instructors dismissed for allegedly pacifistic activities. At Muskegon, Michigan, Eugene Howard, author of a book on capitalism entitled "Cankered Gold," was transferred from a history class in high school to a mathematics class in grade school after being accused of "teaching his own ideas in class." At Davenport, Iowa, Ralph Bergstrom, who has taught manual training in the city schools for the past twenty years, is threatened with loss of his job after writing newspaper articles attacking Hearst. The most disheartening thing about this recital is the defection of institutions hitherto regarded as liberal. At the University of Chicago, for instance, it is disappointing now to find an administration that bans chapters of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League because those organizations, carrying banners using the university name off the campus, participated in a Memorial Day demonstration against war.

RENSSELAER Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, prides itself upon being "the oldest institution of higher learning in any English-speaking country that has devoted itself continuously to instruction and research in science and engineering." The English department is a comparatively new addition to these halls dedicated to the slide rule, test tube and gear wheel, and for six years Granville Hicks has been one of the shining successes of the department. A graduate of Harvard, a recognized scholar and critic, author of "The Great Tradition" and other highly regarded works, his achievements off the campus have brought reflected glory to Rensselaer. On the campus his classes have been conducted with administrative efficiency as well as on a high level of scholarship. Against this background, he is now "released" without warning, because the Institute is "facing the necessity for immediate retrenchment in expenditures." The usual courtesy of one year's notice, which prevails generally throughout the academic world and specifically at Rensselaer, is denied him and the administration rather lamely grants him a half-year's salary in lieu of more adequate notice. The hollowness of the official reason for the dismissal is apparent when one adds the half-year payment granted to Professor Hicks to the salary of the instructor who is to replace him, and realizes that instead of saving money, the Institute will actually increase its expenses for the year by $500. The Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union has asked Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, sociologist and journalist, and Warren Winkelstein, Syracuse attorney, to serve as an impartial investigating committee, but Institute authorities refuse to receive the committee. Meanwhile Granville Hicks, a Communist sympathizer who has never yet been accused of propagandizing in his classes, is dismissed from Rensselaer, and the whole situation regarding civil liberties in the academic world grows daily more tense.

REMOVAL of the Summer School for Women Workers in Industry from the campus of Bryn Mawr College, where it has been quartered for the past fourteen years, is a genuine blow to the whole cause of workers' education. When the school was started, many Bryn Mawr alumnae doused themselves with a warm bath of self-esteem because of what they so liberal-mindedly were providing for the unfortunate girls who had to work for a living. But now, fourteen years later, with the lines of economic struggle deepening and tightening so that they must be apparent even through the windows of a Bryn Mawr alumna's limousine, Bryn Mawr College is conducting a drive, principally among its own alumnae, for an addition of $1,000,000 to its endowment fund. Timid souls on the college faculty and among the alumnae find that the Summer School for Women Workers, which at first had a pretty trimming of courses in languages, music and art and is now concentrating on the hard core of economic realities, brings "unfavorable publicity." Thus the Workers' School, controlled jointly by Bryn Mawr College authorities and representatives of the workers, is now banished to a camp at Mount Ivy, Pomona, New York, which is so small that it permits only half the usual enrolment and has no educational plant whatever, not even a library. The report of a fact-finding committee, headed by Professor Dorothy Douglas of Smith College, herself an alumna of Bryn Mawr, and Mary van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation, rightly and roundly condemns the College authorities for removing the school from the campus and deplores the setback to the whole movement for workers' education in American universities, so much of which was inspired by the original Bryn Mawr example.

A BIT of news in The New York Times shows the N.R.A. in a light of gentle justice that is enough to make anyone want to take back at least some of the hard words wasted on it. Seems that up to the time the Blue Eagle got caught in the Supreme Court Building, one of its code authorities had been embroiled with an outfit known as the Invisilette Corporation, set up for the manufacture and distribution of (according to The New York Times) invisible panties. Mrs. McCracken, inventor of the

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garment, now voices the relief of the company: At last, she says, "we can . . . let the women know what a wonderful thing they have been missing." She had been in quite a spot: "They told us we couldn't have demonstrators because if the panties were really invisible the customer wouldn't be able to tell whether the demonstrator had them on or not, and if they weren't invisible then they claimed our advertising was misleading." But that is all over and now she can have demonstrators, and so let the buyer beware (if no one else).

SENATOR Copeland's Pure Food and Drug Bill, which passed the Senate last week, is now before the House, where it is understood to have a reasonable chance of success. But the victory, if it comes, will hardly be of the sort to bring joy either to Senator Copeland or to consumers. For in the two years that the measure has been before Congress, virtually every section of it has been rewritten and weakened to suit the patent-medicine, food and advertising interests. It seems to be so much to their liking in its present drastically amended form that they are anxious to have the House rush it through—without even a public hearing—lest some really effective food and drug legislation be passed at a future session of Congress. The final action to cripple the bill was taken last week before the vote in the Senate. The Food and Drug Administration was deprived of the power of making multiple seizures of misbranded articles—a power that it has even under the present inadequate Food and Drug Act, passed in 1906. In addition, the definition of false advertising of drugs was seriously weakened so that any therapeutic claim is now permissible if it is merely "supported" (instead of sustained) by medical or scientific opinion. This definition, according to the American Medical Association, is "impossible." But perhaps the best clue to the bill's value is to be found in the news account of The New York Times, which reported that New York advertising men "interested in the merchandising of medicines and allied products felt that the measure would have little effect on their promotional programs at this time. . . ."

THE House Committee on Indian Affairs, after listening to Commissioner Collier of the Indian Bureau and Secretary Ickes of the Interior Department, on May 29 summarily tabled and indefinitely adjourned the consideration of the Oklahoma bill. The exploitation of Indians, it would appear, continues to be looked upon as a vested right belonging to white people in Oklahoma. In the state of Oklahoma live more than one-third of the surviving American Indians. Twenty-five years ago, they possessed abundant land. At present, 70,000 of their number, or more than one-half, are landless. The present administration is backing legislation to supply land, agricultural extension and new schooling opportunities to all of the Oklahoma Indians. But it has made, it seems, the tactical blunder of incorporating in the same bill a section that would curb the rapacity of white guardians and lawyers whose living is made from the estates of a handful of rich Indians.

WITH a million people gathered to watch her arrival, the new French liner "Normandie" slid into New York harbor this week after a record crossing of the North Atlantic in four days and eleven hours. The largest vessel afloat, 1,029 feet long and of 79,280 gross tons, she averaged 29.6 knots and, on her best day's run, made 748 miles. Meanwhile, in France, the Flandin government had fallen, the plight of the franc was becoming daily more desperate and the recently formed Bouisson Cabinet was preparing to demand "extended powers" in order to act without parliamentary control until the end of October. If there is any moral in the "Normandie's" record-breaking crossing it seems to be that if French politicians were one-half so capable as French engineers they might construct a ship of state that would not founder with every new emergency. That, however, implies a scientific approach to government—and politicians, the world over, are notoriously unscientific.

Social Control vs. the Constitution

THE MOMENTOUS character of the Supreme Court decision in the Schechter case, though often stated now, is not likely to be fully understood until history has unfolded another chapter. The best we can do at present is to begin to explore the matter with an eye, not simply on the immediate results, but on the broader implications.

In doing this we must leave to the legal experts the questions that only they are competent to discuss—such questions as whether the Court might, under the Constitution, have found valid precedent and reasoning for a different decision, what precisely it portends in future cases and whether there are loopholes, through which a clever legislature might try again to squirm toward objectives that the Court appears to forbid. Aside from such technicalities, there are two major subjects that demand consideration by all of us: first, how do we like the decisions on policy that the Court's opinion necessarily embodies, and second, what is the fundamental political conclusion from a situation of this kind? The Court was, ostensibly, trying to interpret the Constitution; what we must do is to judge the merit of the resulting policies without regard to their constitutional legitimacy.

The first policy decided by the Court is that Congress cannot delegate any of its legislative power to private individuals, and cannot delegate that power to the President or other executive agent without laying down fairly definite principles by which his

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action is to be guided, or without reference to a specific industry or situation. In general, this seems to us a good policy, in any democratic society, under any kind of representative constitution. One of the chief faults of the N.R.A. was that it conferred the sovereign power of the people upon private employers, who are never elected, whose chief purpose is to seek their own gain, who are not politically responsible, who cannot be removed from office or checked in any way. It gave them, through the code authorities, power to set prices, to fix production and in almost any other respect collectively to manage business as they saw fit. In form, the law provided that all this should be done with the consent and under the supervision of the President, but there was no assurance that he could exercise real supervision, and in fact he did not. The next most serious fault of the N.R.A. was that there were no standards under which the President and his appointees used the delegated powers. There was no genuine social economic planning, no carefully defined purpose to govern the law-making for industry. Whatever each industry happened to want was, in the main, approved and given the force of law. The natural result was conflict of activities and confusion of counsel. The representatives of the people should never delegate power to enact laws unless they make sure that these laws will serve a concerted and definable purpose.

Thus, what in this respect the Supreme Court has decided the Constitution forbids, we disapprove on the ground of the economic welfare of workers and farmers. But we do not approve the negative finality of the result. There must be some legislation governing the economic activities of the population, and governing them in some detail. There must be social economic planning behind this legislation. Congress is obviously a body unfit to do for itself the detailed planning and legislating that it cannot constitutionally delegate. It might easily spend a whole session on one industry, and then come out with an indefensible result. If one believes both that private employers should not be dictators of our economic life, and that there must be management of it for democratic purposes and with democratic consent, then it follows that the decision by the Supreme Court is only half a policy. It needs to be supplemented by the creation of a new type of political machinery that can do the necessary job.

The second policy embodied in the Court's decision is that the federal government cannot legislate about wages, hours, prices, production or other practices of industry, so far as these practices do not *directly* affect interstate commerce. Indirect effects like those contemplated under the recovery legislation—such effects, for instance, as would flow from an increase in the purchasing power of wage earners generally—do not justify federal legislation. The states must regulate "intra-state" business, if it is to be regulated at all. This policy, it appears to us, makes effective social-economic planning virtually impossible, so long as important sectors of private business exist. It more than outweighs the negative gain in the first policy enunciated. For you cannot plan if you have forty-eight uncoördinated agencies with which to plan forty-eight parts of one economic complex. There is no sharp line, if one is thinking about economic functions and effects, between what is interstate and what is within the several states. The mere physical handling of goods, which the Court appears to use as a distinction, is a criterion that would be rejected in every primary class in economics. Furthermore, the practical effect of making political government impotent in this matter is to leave the power over industry where already it largely is, in the hands of big business and finance. So that even if one could plan, one could not carry out the plan.

This does not imply that under effective planning everything must be centrally decided, or that the opponents of the Supreme Court's policy are adherents of complete centralization. What it does imply is that decisions as to which functions should be centralized and which decentralized ought to be made on the basis of the purpose in view and of administrative efficiency, not on the basis of a more or less haphazard distribution of sovereignty among geographical units politically bounded, without reference to modern economic relationships, over a century ago.

We are of course aware that the Court still allows some flexibility in this matter and that it cannot define in advance what it will say in any given case. But the mere uncertainty, combined with the fact that the Court has unquestionably set narrow limits to central action, will practically forbid any comprehensive attempt at socializing the economic order through regulation. Whether the Court would also forbid direct federal ownership of business is uncertain.

The first of the larger political implications in the decision has already been hinted at in the economic discussion. We need a new form of government that (a) will make possible both democratic and efficient management of industry for social purposes, and (b) will abolish the present states and their constitutional prerogatives, substituting flexible regional divisions. Decisions about decentralization ought not to arise from the words of an antiquated written Constitution.

The next implication concerns the place in the new form of government of such a thing as the Supreme Court itself. The legal fiction is that the Court does not, or should not, concern itself with matters of economic policy. It should not pass upon the abstract desirability of legislation. It should merely say, in specific cases, what action is permitted by the Constitution. Whatever may be the mental processes of the honorable Justices, however, the practical result of their decisions is often to forbid or reverse important economic policies. It used to

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be argued that this was the outcome only of the errors of certain misguided members of the Court. The evil might be remedied by appointing the right men, or giving the right legal training to the students from whom future Justices would be drawn. The unanimous decision in this case clears the ground of such contentions and simplifies the issue. It squarely raises fundamental questions—whether we want a body to pass upon major social policies that is not responsible to the electorate, whether we want such a body to enunciate policy by negative action only, whether we want its judgment to rest solely upon a written document, whether we want its decisions to be made after the event, and only upon complaint of parties who believe themselves aggrieved.

There long have been proposals to curb, in one way or another, the power of the Court to invalidate laws upon constitutional grounds. Certainly it is absurd that we should try a new experiment in social policy, should go through a process of evaluating its usefulness, and should be on the point of deciding by democratic, representative methods what we want to do about it, and then, after it has been in effect two years, should suddenly be told by nine gentlemen whom we never elected and cannot get rid of except by death or retirement, that we had no right to make the experiment in the first place because a document framed by James Madison and others before 1800 would not, in their opinion, permit it.

But to abolish the power of the Court to review legislation would be insufficient and might be dangerous so long as there is not some other policy-making body that is better. We believe there should be a governmental agency entrusted with hammering out long-time policy. Congress is not such an agency. The nation needs continuous, careful thought on basic problems, even if the resulting conclusions carry no mandate and are merely advisory to the legislature. This policy-making body, however, must differ from the Supreme Court in essential respects. It should make positive as well as negative recommendations. It should act before the event, not after. It should have a coherent and ascertainable direction. Instead of going through the motions of interpreting an old document, it should serve declared, contemporary social purposes—such as the provision of abundance and the equalization of income. It should consist, not of precedent-minded logicians, but of experts in social and economic management. It should have an adequate staff to provide it with information. It should act, not just to decide disputes, but on its own motion. Above all, it should be ultimately responsible to the will of the citizens. In other words, instead of a Supreme Court we ought to have a Supreme Planning Council. Naturally, courts are required in any political system, but they ought not to exercise the fundamental policy-making power of the state.

If these things are true, it necessarily follows that there is no hope of gradual evolution towards an effective socialism within the existing political framework of the United States. How can legislatures act courageously if they are continually uncertain what the reviewing body may do to their enactments? As Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale Law School points out in his article on page 120 of this issue, not only the limitations placed upon federal power, but also the uncertainty of the Court's direction, inhibits action. The result must be the sterile one of attempting to maintain a balance, rather than the living one of pushing towards a collective goal. When men like Stone, Cardozo, Brandeis and Hughes believe that the Constitution compels them to decide as they did in this case, there is no point any longer in saying that the Constitution is infinitely flexible, or that the Court will eventually follow the election returns, or that socially minded minorities on it may become majorities. The Court has done the nation a service in laying bare the real issue. To have a socialist society we must have a new Constitution.

The N.R.A., as we frequently have pointed out in the past, was a remarkably clear demonstration of the difficulty of achieving socially desirable ends within the framework of capitalism. The economic contradictions involved have been revealed in much detail. Now the Schechter decision indicates that the same ends can hardly be achieved, whether by the N.R.A. or by any other means, within the framework of the Constitution. Both economically and politically, we stand in the position of a society compressed within an institutional frame too rigid to contain the forces of social change. It is certain that in time we shall burst out of it.

The solution is not to be found in a simple constitutional amendment permitting more exercise of federal and executive power, or in one stripping the Court of its assumed right to review legislation. To extend and centralize political power under existing conditions would, as some members of the Court undoubtedly feared, merely give concentrated wealth another instrument with which to rule, while it would not furnish to government the means required to cope with wealth. President Roosevelt's reaction to the decision was natural, but to rally behind him in the demand for such an amendment would be fatal to the hopes entertained by progressives. Either the nation must put up with the confusions and miseries of an essentially unregulated capitalism, or it must prepare to supersede capitalism with socialism. There is no longer a feasible middle course. Such regulation as is to be effective in the meantime must be imposed and supported without much aid from law, by the economic power of the organized masses. When the time comes to give the government power to do the things that government ought to do, the organized masses must be prepared to control the government. When we can have a new Constitution and abolish private ownership of the principal means of production, we can aspire to a socially managed economy.

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Corporations in Cotton

ONE OF the principal characteristics of the South, and of Southerners, is a resentment toward outside criticism. This has been explained, by various writers attempting to psychoanalyze the section, as part of an inferiority complex produced by the Civil War. Southerners, however, with less subtle but equally sensible reasoning, say that the problems of the South are so complex, so peculiarly regional, that only a person living in the South can understand them—which makes outside comment irrelevant as well as unwanted.

An example of the way these two points of view sometimes conflict with each other is the present controversy over the sharecroppers, the center of the disturbance being in Arkansas, where thousands of tenant farmers, as a result of the crop-limitation program, have been turned loose to wander along the roads. Northern opinion is mistaken if it believes that the South took no cognizance of the situation and did not try to meet its emergencies. Even before the crop-limitation program went into effect, various Southern newspapers pointed out that it would lead to the dispossessing of many croppers and suggested that steps be taken to meet the crisis before it arose. And, when the movement to unionize the tenants began, it was greeted with enthusiasm in many places.

However, once "outsiders" had come into Arkansas, and "outside" pressure had been brought to bear, the South stiffened its backbone. A Southern institution was being threatened and, with its old impulse, the South rallied to its defense. Violence began. Certain groups, motivated by more than Confederate patriotism, began to terrorize the croppers who had joined the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and those who, like Norman Thomas and President Lucien Koch of Commonwealth College, were helping the tenants to organize. In August, a Negro organizer was arrested and beaten and a white man forced to leave the state. On November 14, four more organizers were arrested as a prelude to the apprehension and conviction of Ward Rodgers on a charge of anarchy. Lucien Koch and a companion were dragged from a union meeting, beaten and threatened with the lynch rope. Norman Thomas was driven from Marked Tree when he went there to make a speech. And once again the Southern press, including some of the journals that had previously shown a tolerant and far-sighted understanding, began to condemn "outside" agitators; and to make it plain that the South could take care of itself.

Any person acquainted with Southern attitudes will understand this position, this taking of a stand, but one wonders what—and whom—the South is defending. Is the present agricultural situation in the South a Southern institution or is it a part of that economy, that "outside influence," against which the people in Arkansas protest?

The sharecropper system of agriculture did not, as is generally supposed, supplant the old plantations after the Civil War. The South became a region of small farmers—not so completely as New England is, but to a marked degree in comparison with the system prevailing before. The cropper plan, it is true, also began to develop but it did not become firmly established until taxes, mortgages and a chaotic cotton market forced the little farmer to surrender his holdings, which were purchased by wealthier farmers or, especially, by combines of outside capitalists—not Southern capitalists but persons from the North and East.

A correspondent for The New York Times, writing of the Arkansas situation, included in one of his dispatches the following tabulation of acreage cultivated by the four largest "planters" in Poinsett County:

Chapman-Dewey Company	17,000	acres
Poinsett Lumber Company	5,550	"
E. Ritter and Company	5,000	"
Hiram Norcross Plantation	5,000	"

Not one of these, as their names indicate, comes within the old Southern definition of "plantation owner." They are industrial corporations, in the sense in which the phrase is generally understood, and they are in the South for one purpose only—to make money. They have contributed as much to Southern life and culture as has Mr. Morgan or Mr. Mellon. The plantation system has become, to a great extent, a system of absentee ownership. For example, the Poinsett Lumber Company, named in the table above, is a subsidiary of the Singer Sewing Machine Corporation. It seems highly illogical, therefore, for Southerners to maintain that they are defending Southern institutions against "outsiders" when they are actually defending the "outsiders" themselves—unless the Singer Sewing Machine Corporation can be called a Southern institution. One should be more circumspect when taking a stand. The South, more than any other part of the nation, is faced with a number of problems that must be solved. They can best be solved by the South itself—if the South so wills.

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The Supreme Court and the N. R. A.

THE DECISIONS of the Supreme Court at this term, culminating in the Schechter case invalidating the Live Poultry Code and condemning the entire code-making process of the N.R.A., bring to the fore once again the perennial question of the Court's position in our governmental structure. There has been drama in the chain of circumstances that has given the Court the center of the stage during the winter. Indeed, Professor Corwin, author of a recent book with the arresting title "The Twilight of the Supreme Court," may well feel that this title was anything but prophetic. The Court is decidedly in the sunlight; perhaps, to improve the metaphor, it reflects "that fierce light which beats about a throne." Yet one may venture the paradox that the fiercer the glow the greater still may be the twilight. Outside of the dramatic character of the succession of events—bank crisis, legislative ferment, then court taboo—the pattern of Supreme Court adjudication viewed in perspective is not changed. The most recent decisions give forcible emphasis, however, to the problem, especially because of the unanimity of opinion among the Justices. We have tended to confuse issues by dividing the Court into "liberals" and "conservatives," with prayers for appointment of Justices more according to our individual heart's desire. These decisions show how jejune a view that is, and suggest the necessity of a more searching reëxamination of our political organization.

I should like to attempt another paradox to illustrate my point. Since the decisions last week, there has been much talk by those who immediately profit by the outcome that the Constitution still lives and that fundamental law has been reasserted. One may well urge, however, that there is an inconsistency between the two statements and that here is but added demonstration that we lack a fundamental law in the political sense except the one of complete governmental irresponsibility. It is the seriousness of this issue, wherein the Court is but one of several protagonists, not the supposed wrong-headedness of individuals, be they Presidents, Supreme Court Justices or code administrators, that should be stressed. Our three major constitutional doctrines of a *federal system of government,* wedded to the theory of the *separation of powers,* and subject to the application of the doctrine of *judicial review,* tends to inhibit governmental action except hasty, ill considered maneuverings after a crisis has actually arrived. That is what our constitutional fathers, distrustful of government, wished to achieve, and in that sense their Constitution does live. Is that theory of government adequate or even safe for the fiercely competing elements now forced to live together in some semblance of what is hoped to be peace and tranquility in the modern great society?

Professor Corwin's book and title may serve as a starting point for some inquiries as to the nature of this problem. All his reviewers stopped at the word "twilight"; most were critical. But making due allowance for an author's natural and proper desire for a title that will direct attention to his work, it is not ill chosen. True, it has a certain vagueness, which may be part of its usefulness. Most reviewers thought it was designed to indicate an objective value judgment on the present status of the Court. But the Court is master of its own status, and more properly the word can be considered as intended to focus attention on the Court's own attitude, direction or purpose. And it indicates an uncertainty of direction (which the late cases do not dispel) not out of keeping with approaching evening or perhaps approaching day. Mr. Corwin had stated that past precedents gave the Court well nigh absolute freedom of choice as to its direction and that its refusal to restrict the spending power of Congress—the most pervading and far-reaching of all its powers—gave an air of unreality, not to say futility, to the entire doctrine of judicial review. The spending power is not yet restricted. Possibly the T.V.A. case, if and when it reaches the Supreme Court, may be the occasion for announcing restrictions here also. Even if it is, however, the general freedom of choice among the precedents still remains.

When I speak of this freedom of choice, I am of course thinking of the unpredictability of result as it appears to us outside the Court. We may, however, give some thought to the problem of the individual Justice as he approaches decision. After all, has the dilemma of the so-called liberal judge been fully appreciated? He has the option of appearing technical and arbitrary to those whose general attitude towards life he shares or of indulging in verbal hair-splitting savoring of intellectual sharp practices, to put it mildly. Is it after all so strange to have a Brandeis the spokesman for the unanimous court in declaring the Frazier-Lemke farm-mortgage moratorium invalid? In the recent N.R.A. decision, Mr. Justice Cardozo, speaking for himself and Mr. Justice Stone, in attempting to satisfy the doctrinal requirement of a standard to which the President must conform to avoid the vice of improper delegation of legislative power to him, refers to the difficulty of reading meaning into the broad generalities of the Act. And the Chief Justice stresses the same point. What, after all, can

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"fair competition" mean as the basic requirement of the codes, considered, as it is set forth, apart from everything else except some vague provisions as to promoting the flow of commerce and industrial recovery? Mr. Justice Cardozo says this is "as wide as the field of industrial regulation." Liberal argument of late years has concerned itself with urging a loose interpretation of all such doctrinal requirements. I feel that the Court has here retreated much more than it needed into doctrinal rigidity. The point is, however, that in the long run such retreat is to be expected as part of a natural cycle of judicial decision. Therefore, liberal emphasis on freedom of interpretation is at best only a partial palliative, sure to be largely ineffective over a period of years and with changing personnel in the Court, and, as events now show, eventually insufficient for the whole Court, liberals and conservatives alike.

Moreover, the liberal argument itself often finds need of resort to the constitutional prohibitions. It is true that usually this is to vindicate so-called personal rights, such as free speech and fair trial for oppressed minorities. But over and over, personal and property rights flow together so that they are indistinguishable and inseparable. It is not so easy as the mere statement implies to tell where personal freedom ceases and vested property begins. Our liberal Justice may well wonder when and how far he is to apply the constitutional strait-jacket and still be acclaimed "liberal."

It should be noted, too, that it is not the number of decisions, nor even the facts of a particular adjudication, that are of ultimate importance. It is the *possibility* of court action that affects the entire political, economic and legal approach to public issues. In the early days after the Civil War, when the meaning of "due process of law" was in a formative state, Mr. Justice Miller, an advocate of the original restricted meaning of the phrase, severely castigated lawyers for even at that time bringing case after case to the Court in reliance on this ground of constitutional attack. Nevertheless the litigation was actually invited by the apologetic words of the majority, to say nothing of the strong dissenting opinions, and eventually in the 1890's success crowned the efforts of the attackers in the Court's reversal of view and acceptance of the wider concept of "due process." From the beginning, enforcement of New Deal legislation has been largely paralyzed by the threat of constitutional attack which is now crowned with success.

Moreover, the public attitude is conditioned by what seems to be the pattern of constitutional view *at the time.* Such pattern is at any point of time made up of incomplete bits of detail which give a prevailing tinge to the whole picture, eventually perhaps quite false. A rug-maker, temporarily working with yellow materials, may thus give the thing he is fashioning a general tinge which will be quite changed as he adds other materials. Constitutional cases are, after all, only contests between individual litigants (the state itself when a party having no higher status), and the timing of the appearance of these contests has much to do with the resulting constitutional product. Thus much of the present climate of constitutional opinion is due to the odd sequence of the recent decisions. For this and for its refusal to face the constitutional issue boldly the administration must receive its full share of blame as well as for the hasty character of much of the legislation. One reason why we find ourselves in our present situation is because the administration feared this issue and recurringly took extreme measures to avoid its test, until finally, as a result of public demand and threatened Senate action, it went to battle in what seem to be its weakest possible cases. The Hot Oil case decided in January presented an example of bureaucratic ineptitude in failing properly to execute or to publicize its administrative rulings, and the Schechter case was a criminal conviction on a national crime of local poultry distributors based on the manner in which they killed and distributed their poultry in their home city. These were hardly the cases upon which to risk the fate of the recovery legislation. But this is, of course, criticism made after the event. The point I am making is not the allocation of specific blame, but that the present system renders such chance factors unduly important.

Moreover, the Justices cannot help but be influenced by the defeatist attitude towards the New Deal economic measures, and notably towards the N.R.A., that has now developed. Judges decide cases before them; in these particular cases the human appeal of the parties, the weak government position and the serious problems presented by the precedents all undoubtedly had their natural effect. Now they are our precedents as to the New Deal. Had the government boldly pressed forward its strongest cases and won them—as possibly it may still win them—these defeats would not seem so overwhelming. Thus, the Chicago milk license might have presented the issue of federal versus state control over commerce more sharply than the New York poultry killers. It appeared that 40 percent of the Chicago milk comes from without Illinois, and if federal control of milk prices cannot be had, then no effective control is possible. In other words, such a situation would have presented in a way not yet done the government's argument of inextricable intermixture of certain businesses so as to make the issue one between either federal control or governmental impotence.

As it is, the constitutional mosaic of the last two years, taken merely on its face, presents an incongruous outline. A state law preventing the foreclosure of mortgages for two years is valid. So also is a state milk-control law setting the minimum price at which a grocer can sell milk. A federal

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law authorizing the President to prohibit the interstate transportaion of hot oil (oil produced in excess of state proration allocations) is invalid, as are also a law establishing a pension system for railroad employees, a law prohibiting the foreclosure of farm mortgages for five years, and the N.I.R.A. and its codes of fair competition. There does not seem any clear-cut design, only perhaps a reversal of the trend towards nationalism and a return to doctrines of states' rights. But even this view is a distorted one because of the nature of the cases and the order in which they appeared.

Again we may view it from the standpoint of the doctrines involved. Before the hot-oil case last January no decisions had sustained objections to congressional delegation of power to the executive; due process as protecting individual property rights had been by the New York Milk case returned very nearly to its original limited scope; and the trend of power to the national government seemed steadily on the increase. Now delegation of power assumes major importance as a constitutional "must-not"; due process prevents pension systems and possibly threatens old-age-security programs; and interstate commerce is again restricted to merely the definite movement across state lines. In the next crisis who is to act and how?

I have been stating the problem in terms of courts and judges. I do not wish thus to limit it. For judicial review, as we now have it, leads directly to lack of ultimate responsibility on anyone for political actions taken. The Court—the last body to act—certainly does not have it, for coupled with the unpredictability of its course is the fact that by its very nature its action is at most only negative—only saying no to some other political agency. The good old American game of passing the buck is perhaps the most striking thing in our political life, whether seen in ward politics, in municipal governments (where boards of finance, most easily susceptible to hidden political control, are set to watch other city boards) or in state and national politics, where executive, legislature (with two competing houses) and court all operate separately, if not antagonistically. The only discernible movement to the contrary and in favor of definite individual responsibility in government is in the city-manager movement. Occasionally a public leader asks an approach to the English parliamentary system, such as the appearance of Cabinet members on the floor of Congress, but in general the problem is not faced; it is merely evaded by calls for liberal judges, strong mayors, governmental experts, or a few years back at least, great business executives, in government service. What is needed is a thorough reëxamination of our governmental system, which shall be searching enough to weigh dispassionately such sacred relics of our colonial history as the sovereignty of our states, and which shall then press for such affirmative action with respect to constitutions and "fundamental law" as the needs of a modern political organization, capable of acting in time of crisis or otherwise in the interests of all its constituents, demand. In short, there should be amendments to the national Constitution, and probably also to the state Constitutions, to change our major constitutional doctrines so as to provide for a truly national government not hampered by state sovereignty and to promote legislative and executive responsibility.

If this is done and if in the course of it governmental responsibility is reëxamined, then the function of judicial review in promoting irresponsibility must necessarily be considered. In 1923 that most conservative English statesman and judge, Lord Birkenhead, said to American lawyers: "The decision is premature whether you, and those who agree with you, have been right in trying to control the free will of a free people by judicial authority, or whether we have been right in trusting the free will and a free people to work out their own salvation." Events of recent years have certainly not helped to prove the value of throttling legislative or executive initiative or even more of relieving executive and legislative responsibility.

It may be premature to say that all judicial review should go unless state lines became lessened or obliterated; I agree with Mr. Justice Holmes's view as to the necessity of some final arbiter between state and state and between state and central government. Although the wide reaches of due process seem to me doubtful and the historic emphasis on due process as fair judicial procedure, not laissez-faire economics, seems preferable, it does not appear an impossible task to map out a more explicit dividing line between personal and property due process. In short, judicial review, instead of being vagrant and unchained, may be canalized to promote rather than to lessen responsibility of our public officials. It will be greatly restricted so far as "due process" is concerned; it will have comparatively little function as arbiter of the federal system because of the truly national form of government then envisaged; and it will then no longer support the separation of powers.

This may seem so much the counsel of Utopia as to amount to a counsel of despair, so impossible of attainment appear these objectives. Yet the 1933 crisis showed that, faced with stark reality, our people are mentally ready for momentous changes. And changes of the kind I have indicated would be but mild indeed compared to the upheavals suffered in our generation by other countries and already prophesied for our own. And finally, for years liberals have been suggesting all sorts of partial panaceas, short of reëxamination of fundamental constitutional objectives, and have got —as should have been brought home to them a week ago last Monday—exactly nowhere.

CHARLES E. CLARK.

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Scientists and Pietists

EVEN Cambridge Mathematicians deserve justice," said Oliver Heaviside rather bitterly, after their thoughtless disparagement of his work. In similar vein, even those scientists who throw the weight of their authority on the side of mysticism and reaction deserve at least to be understood. For in spite of the abtruse nature of their work, perhaps because of it, they are simple souls, at worst kindly, well meaning villains of the piece.

With each of us our sense of reality is liveliest in the region within which we operate, control or are controlled. A road worker can direct and control the action of his drill to tear up the roadway. At a moment's notice he can be sacked by his boss or his boss's agent, his life directed and controlled by him. The drill, the roadway and the boss are in a significant sense more real to him than the moon, the heart of a star or an atom of hydrogen. The eminent scientist has no boss, no visible one at any rate, no sinister figure lurks in the background to bring the social structure suddenly about his ears. Social shadows are unreal to him. Of his "own free will" he pursues truth, extends the boundaries of knowledge. His science, he feels, is a free creation of his mind. Within his familiar field he can handle theories, check their "truth," talk glibly and familiarly about atoms, electrons, neutrons, protons, hydrogen ion concentrations and space-time curvature, as freely as the laborer uses his pickaxe. To him they are vivid and real.

Particularly is this true of the mathematician. Threading his way through a maze of symbols, narrowing his attention on their interpretation in the realm of ideas, he becomes sometimes as unconscious even of the marks that compose his symbols as we become of the words that express our meaning as we speak. Ideas, thoughts struggle to the foreground and become a reality in themselves, elbowing the world of breakfasts and dinners into misty unreality. If he cannot control his housekeeper he can at least direct his symbols and use them to fashion his thoughts. They become his pickaxe and his roadway, and the social concerns of the worker or even the experimental difficulties of his brother scientist sink into the background of irrelevance beside the urge to produce a logically watertight mathematics.

Unless this variegated pattern of occupational reality is appreciated, unless it is realized that, with all of us, reality is brought to a sharp focus in the familiar region we control or within which we are controlled, the part played by scientific men in the recent marital scandals between science and religion cannot be properly appraised.

Thus on social and philosophical matters the scientific man, like the layman, is a naïve creature. Convinced that all philosophy is mere hair-splitting and word-spinning, he is satisfied that, should a philosophical question ever arise in his work, he can deal with it as he has dealt with other scientific questions. Ignorant of the fact that every interpretation he makes involves philosophical assumptions and implications of some kind, he accepts uncritically, because unconsciously, the traditional outlook of the times, and interprets his science accordingly. Like Janus he becomes a two-faced god, looking backwards to tradition and forward to science. Like the law, he accepts the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Birth but denies it a place in his science as the law refuses to accept it as a precedent in a paternity defense. Unconscious of the fact that as a scientist he is society and its ideas, he needs must live an unintegrated life.

What is true of his philosophy is true of his sociology. Sheltered from the direct effects of the economic blizzard, concerned as he imagines, only with truth and not with valuations, he "freely" chooses his field of research because he loves knowledge as an end in itself. It is the old-fashioned liberal-individualist tradition brought forward in personal explanation, and it is one into which the scientific man easily slips because of the method he applies in his work. For the first step in any scientific problem is to isolate it as far as possible from all extraneous complications, human or otherwise. Among other things this includes being "objective," excluding from his purview all aspects of the universe into which human purpose and desire enter. Since purpose and desire are two of the most powerful factors in shaping the world, in settling how the findings of science will be applied, the method automatically restricts the study to one aspect of the universe only. Thus, unless he becomes conscious of the limitations of his method, there is established in his mind a sharp division, a dichotomy, projected into nature: on the one side the material world subject to laws ascertainable by scientific method, and on the other the individual bestraddling the universe, exercising on the world a mysterious free will immune from scientific study, following only the dictates of his own conscience. Thus is the stage set for a "free" individual judgment, free action and morality immune from any social or material conditioning. It is this outlook that gives the specific color to his interpretations of recent scientific discoveries.

The fact is of course that science, far from being immune from valuations, is actually directed and canalized by them. Every administrator who has to allocate funds for scientific research bases his

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decision, not on disembodied scientific facts, but on a set of valuations regarding the "function" or social "purpose" of each particular activity. Even a superficial study of the history of science brings out how closely it has been tied to the apron strings of industry; but the scientist, believing, as Ford is reputed to have said, "History is bunk," tends to see himself as the external unrestricted agent of science, the product of his free will. If industrialists and financiers had only found it as profitable to encourage the study of free will as intensively as the study of poison gas, we might ere this have placed free-will behavior on a scientific basis, and taken the mystical sting out of it. After all the question to be answered is simple: "How do people who exercise this free will behave in practice?" The stock clerk of any perishable-goods store will tell us the answer because he has to make an accurate estimate for the purposes of his business. He is not going to be humbugged by the assertion that free will does not exhibit laws. His predictions are more accurate than those of the meteorologist. If meteorology is deterministic, so is free-will behavior.

For the feeling of free will is an interesting sociological survival. In the Middle Ages, when the Church possessed the power to exercise its dicta, what the Church Fathers asserted to be truth, was truth, and that was an end to it. The will of the Church was law, and he was free who appreciated that fact and obeyed it. Freedom of the will consisted in carrying through the will of the Church. These were feudal days.

With commercialism and its spirit of individualism, and with the rise of its religious counterpart, Protestantism, the external authority of the Roman Church was dethroned, and the individual owed allegiance only to himself through the still small voice of conscience. At a period of expanding commercial and industrial possibilities it was the philosophy of cutthroat individualism asserting its desire for exploitation without let or hindrance, and the law to which it gave adherence was its own law.

We have reached a new phase, the period of capitalist decay, when the toilers of Western Europe and America, burned in the fire of unrestrained industrialism, are awakening to the fact that they are themselves the makers of history, the makers of social laws. Freedom of the will begins to assume a new shape. It shows itself in the desire to understand these laws and, on this as a basis, deliberately to create such laws as will lead to the emancipation of mankind from bondage. The free will of the Church, and the free will of the individual are over. It is the will of the conscious mass. Freedom becomes, not submission to an external or a self-imposed authority, but the deliberate creation of natural law, the laws of human society, within the framework of physical possibilities.

Traditions die slowly, for they develop an inertia of their own. They persist in the thoughts, philosophies and formal practice of men long after the material circumstances that brought them into being have passed away. Today when crude individualism has transformed itself through trusts, combines and cartels into finance capitalism, the minds of men of all classes and at all levels of educational attainment are still chained to a morality resting on a law of conscience as an unrestricted absolute, and scientific men, in spite of the lessons that relativity has taught them, are just as impervious to change in this respect as their less erudite brethren.

We are now in a position to understand the curious situation that has arisen over determinism. Jeans, Millikan and Eddington spend their philosophic time tilting at a straw figure, the figure of mechanistic determinism. Making the individualistic cleavage, as we have seen, between themselves and the world of matter, they first regard the latter (at times, for they are not consistent) as a miscellaneous collection of scraps of matter, static and unchanging except where they are guided by a set of mysterious external laws of nature. This view would naturally lead them to a God who was little else than an elaborate clockwork engineer winding up the universe from the outside. Such a view clearly raises complications in connection with their free will, so the Gordian knot is cut by destroying the laws of nature themselves. This is done in two ways. First, since the mathematician who has become the leading character in this play frames these laws in symbolic and logical form, *his reality*, the ideas about his formulas, become *the* reality, and the universe vanishes into a mass of symbols, a mere idea in the mind of God, a Great Mathematician. Secondly, since there is after all a limit to the fineness of perception even of scientists when studying the structure of matter, there is a limit (the physical reasons for which are quite well understood) below which it becomes physically impossible to disentangle or isolate the processes that go on there. Here then is a part of nature within which, presumably, chaos reigns. But of course the mathematician in fulfilling his function of producing a logically connected theory of nature begins with this "chaotic" unit as his basis, and builds upwards. Thus the description of nature he produces contains at its center a core of indeterminacy; and law and order vanish from the universe. In the commotion, chaos at the center, unrestricted by law, becomes somehow identified with free will. Chaos becomes the law to which we must subject ourselves.

This is the extraordinary muddle in which scientists find themselves when they remain oblivious to the fact that physical science deals with a restricted aspect of nature, and when this ignorance is interpreted in terms of an individualistic philosophy whose social roots are not recognized. Man is part of nature, a changing process that uncovers its laws as it changes. To each level of nature, its appropriate laws; to each set of laws its appropri-

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ate level, its appropriate range of prediction, and *therefore* its appropriate determinism. To physical science prediction is essential. It is soaked in determinism. Social laws, the laws that mankind exhibits in its struggles, have their own special deterministic quality. They differ from the laws of physical science in that they are not only discoverable by man, but are made by man. Events are therefore not only predictable but are made to come true. It is this quality that corresponds to the fact that man is a conscious active agent in the physical world.

HYMAN LEVY.

Mark Twain: 1835-1935

IN A LITTLE book on American literature which makes the history of writing in this country sound like a long good-natured lunch-hour, Mr. Carl Van Doren observes that Mark Twain was "one of the 'powerful uneducated persons' Whitman had asked America to produce and value." As a matter of fact, Whitman himself once expressed an opinion of the younger writer which Mr. Van Doren's remark makes it interesting to recall. "I think he mainly misses fire," he said to Traubel one day: "I think his life misses fire: he might have been something: but he never arrives." This was at the end of the eighties, to be sure, and possibly Whitman would have judged Mark Twain differently at a later hour; but one's guess is that he would have put the point still more emphatically. In any case, the old man's comment is of the richest interest partly because it is so true that Mark Twain *was* a powerful uneducated person, that he *was* potentially the kind of Answerer Whitman had asked America to produce, and that he *was* the embodiment, or began by being, of so many of Whitman's ideas of the democratic personality. But the older writer had the acuteness of a stethoscope in such matters, and it told him that a great promise had not been fulfilled. Mr. Van Doren cheerfully assumes that it had been, but not everyone will find it so easy to ignore Whitman's lead.

From one point of view, it seems absurd to speak of Mark Twain as missing fire. Twenty-five years after his death, there appears to be plenty of evidence that he hit one bull's-eye with sensational accuracy. According to an article published last year in The American Mercury by Charles H. Compton, a St. Louis librarian, Mark Twain is far and away the most widely read and best loved of American authors. Library shelves, it is said, tell a conclusive story. And not only in Mark Twain's Middle West. The Boston Public Library owns 1,479 copies of his various works, as compared with 272 copies of Henry James, and this proportion is representative. Zane Greys come and go; "Anthony Adverses" roll up their hundreds of thousands for a few months; but "Huckleberry Finn" and "The Innocents Abroad" are the books that Americans continue to read from year to year as they read no others.

Beyond this fact, however, lies the more interesting question, Why; and by writing to a large, well distributed number of Mark Twain readers, Mr. Compton collected some of the evidence for an answer. In the letters he received, he says, the "desire for an escape was repeatedly brought out." Not only so, but it appears that the largest single class of devotees is made up of students, high-school students chiefly, and the impression this makes is confirmed by a passage from a letter written to Mr. Compton not by a student but by a presumably mature chemical engineer: "As to the favorites," he says, "I still cling to my first loves of Tom and Huck. As to why, probably my childish mentality. . . ."

The engineer's modesty is of course disarming. But how can one fail to make out the signals in the picture that takes shape out of these researches? The best loved of American writers is read chiefly by adolescents; he is read also, however, by adults who apologize for the immaturity of their tastes and confess to a desire to "escape." One may agree with Kenneth Burke's dissolution of the cliché, "escape"; may concede the honor there is in being read eagerly by children, and still feel that these facts are indicative. I do not mean that they say everything, but so far as they go they say that Mark Twain's appeal is chiefly to the very young and to the "eternally youthful," and that he is read not because he makes experience more intelligible or enriches the imagination with the possibilities of new experience, but because he coöperates with the desire to play hooky.

He certainly does more than that, but his centenary seems a natural occasion for attempting again to focus his work as a whole, and the attempt itself is enough to suggest that his very popularity with that great host of public-library readers is an omen of the decline that seems so likely to be his fate, just as a writer, among the tremendous changes of the future. In a socialist culture in which adulthood will prevailingly be more than a matter of numbered years, how much of Mark Twain can possibly preserve its charm or its interest? A good many pages, one guesses; but how little in proportion to the whole! There was a jinni at Mark Twain's service such as few poets of his time could command, and when he rubbed the lamp the right way the result was the first half of "Life on the Mississippi," or the beginning of "Huckleberry

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Finn," or Chapters 11 and 28 of "The Gilded Age," or Jim Baker's blue-jay story, or "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." It is hard to imagine such writing losing its spell in many years. But the jinni in question was exacting, and the price of invoking him successfully was a self-descipline that Mark Twain was not willing to undergo. The consequence is a spectacle of monotonously repeated flashes in the pan such as literary history rarely sees.

The children who read him in such numbers will not complain, but the adult reader who has learned to expect in literature the effect of culmination, the triumph of the whole over parts, the long and steady flight, is bound to feel constantly let down. Hardly a breath intervenes between rich foolery and mere silliness in "The Innocents Abroad." The gold of a masculine romanticism lies side by side with the slag of buffoonery and fake sentiment even in "Life on the Mississippi" and "Roughing It." The fat and the lean of "The Gilded Age" are compounded of a wild dionysiac humor and the narrative effects of Nick Carter. The lovely opening chapters of "Huckleberry Finn" are succeeded by the puerile humors of the King and the Duke and the dreary elaboration of Tom Sawyer's rescue of Jim. Even "A Connecticut Yankee," which in spite of Mr. De Voto is exceptionally sustained, lapses far too often into tired nonsense and irritable argumentation.

If his best books are abortive in these ways, so too was Mark Twain's artistic career as a whole. Instead of growing clearer and firmer, his sense of reality grew dimmer and more flaccid with every decade; his inventiveness sagged to the plane of the newspaper culture about him; and the intensely romantic strain in his imagination, which might have been toughened and disciplined up to the level of Gogol or Melville, dribbled away in school-girl medievalism and drug-store melodramatics. The inanities of "The American Claimant" are the sequel to the Hogarthian high spots of "The Gilded Age," and the candy of "Joan of Arc" to the gusto of "Roughing It." Nor did the misanthropy which grew sourer as his sentiment thickened and stiffened enhance in any way the vitality or the truthfulness of Mark Twain's fictions. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" and "The Mysterious Stranger," fierce and real as their Timonism is, are as phoney in their rendering of human behavior as "The American Claimant" and "Joan of Arc."

The reasons for all this were of course partly personal and partly a matter of history, and with the aid of Van Wyck Brooks's insight it becomes easier and easier to see these reasons in perspective. As American culture deteriorated with the shift of social power from the farmer and the merchant to the industrial capitalist, Mark Twain's problem both as man and as artist was either to cling to and enrich the individualism he inherited from the Lamptons and the Clemenses, or to think his way ahead, as his friend Howells did, to a broader philosophy. He should have remained true to the best traditions of his family and his class, or have gone beyond them. He did neither. Abandoning the self-trust in which Emerson had said all the duties of the Scholar could be comprised, abandoning Whitman's "boundless impatience of restraint," he adopted not a revolutionary philosophy of comradeship—to which he certainly had inclinations—but a self-contemptuous system of cynical acquiescence. If a man would prosper, he says in "Corn-Pone Opinions," "he must train with the majority; in matters of large moment, like politics and religion, he must think and feel with the bulk of his neighbors, or suffer damage in his social standing and in his business prosperities . . . Self-approval," he continued, as if to magnify fantastically the distance he had come from Emerson and Whitman, "is acquired mainly from the approval of other people. The result is conformity."

The result, too, in Mark Twain's case, was stultification at the hands of a class that demanded of its writers what Mr. Compton's investigations reveal. But the stultification was never complete, and something of his original freedom of spirit remained alive to the end. In his heart, as many commentators have observed more or less perfunctorily, Mark Twain loathed cruelty and despised pretense. The social world about him was on many sides both cruel and pretentious, and neither early nor late could he wholly conceal his disgust with it. The fate of "The Gilded Age," which Mr. Compton finds to be the least read of all his books, no doubt taught him a lesson, but there it stands none the less as an expression for other potential readers of Mark Twain's instinctive attitude toward the morality of business. As time went on, he took to venting his fury through perhaps unconscious symbols, and flayed the dead lions of feudal injustice in such books as "The Prince and the Pauper"; or he let himself go flamingly in letters that are now more valuable than most of his fiction; or he broke out with his real feeling in apparently innocent contexts, as when in "The Esquimau Maiden's Romance" he made a character say: "In my heart of hearts I hate all the ways of millionaires!" Nor, though the practice has been to ignore them utterly, can it be forgotten that Mark Twain in his old age wrote those blistering onslaughts upon American imperialism, race persecution, foreign missions and militarism—"To the Person Sitting in Darkness," "The War Prayer" and "The United States of Lyncherdom."

Through such things as these, and despite the vast wastage of his career, Mark Twain may well survive as a writer in the affections of later generations and of a class to which he did not directly address himself. Survive one feels certain he will, but surely far less as a writer, at the best, than as a figure, a folk hero, a grand half-legendary personality. That, as a matter of fact, in a sense in which it is not true of most writers, is the role he really

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played in his own time. The people of his class, despite their self-hypnosis, could not seriously venerate the canny iron-masters, the swindling monopolists or the dull and paltry politicians who prevailed in the public life of the country; and they turned with a deep human instinct to a man whom they did not properly value but whose essential largeness and sweetness they rightly idolized. They helped to defeat him as a writer, but it is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to their arid culture that it *was* a writer whom they spontaneously elected as their Cid, their Robin Hood, their Barbarossa. He bewitched the popular imagination as those other worthies had done, and it is not hard to see why. Nor is it hard to conceive the glamor of his personality outliving the society that produced and thwarted him. One almost suspects the existence among the people of a tradition that Mark Twain is not dead after all but sitting fast asleep in some Kyffhäuser cavern from which in the vague future he will again emerge and renew his leadership, though not until the obscene ravens have stopped their flapping and screeching about the mountain peak.

NEWTON ARVIN.

Roosevelt's Tree Army: II

DURING the last year and a half, the C.C.C. has been the scene of an ambitious attempt to give a large part of the male youth of this country a conscious, realistic social point of view. The force behind this attempt has been Dr. C. S. Marsh, until recently the C.C.C.'s educational director. Boys do not come into the C.C.C. unless they are jobless, unmarried and members of families on relief. They know well enough that the normal course for young men of their age would be to find jobs in their native towns, take girls to the movies and plan on getting married and founding homes. For at least some of the boys, their own predicament and that of their families is the cause of intense worry.

In a recent issue of the national C.C.C. newspaper, Happy Days, there is a naïve little story of a fictional C.C.C. boy who performs prodigies of wit and audacity to win a girl in the neighboring village only to find she is about to marry a non-C.C.C. boy who has a job. A few weeks ago, in Camp 222, in Middleburgh, New York, a debate was held before a tense audience on: "Can a Man Support a Wife on $25 a Week." In one Western camp, a boy became hysterical during his first interview with the camp educational adviser. Later he explained that for four years everybody else had treated him as a failure and no good.

When the C.C.C. was first set up, the tendency of camp commanders was to dodge any discussion of the boys' difficulties, and, instead, talk about the splendid opportunity they were being given to live in God's outdoors, and inhale lungfuls of clean, bracing air. Marsh determined to give them an honest explanation. He issued a "Handbook for Educational Advisers," in which he said that the C.C.C. educational division would attempt: "To develop as far as practicable an understanding of the prevailing social and economic conditions, to the end that each man may coöperate intelligently in improving these conditions." He added the comment: "Next to the men's interest in future jobs, the motive most common is likely to be the social and economic crisis which has led to their unemployment."

It was impossible for Marsh individually to train his camp educational advisers overnight. What he needed, and needed in a hurry, was a series of proper textbooks. Fifty percent of the boys in the C.C.C. have never gone beyond grammar school, and only one in five has managed to complete high school. College textbooks on economics would be beyond them, and children's books could not hold their interest. Marsh determined to create special texts, printing them in editions of 300,000. He asked Fechner, head of the C.C.C., for funds, and found him wholly apathetic. A forthright, aggressive person, Marsh promptly went outside the government, and obtained $40,000 from the General Education Board. For the first of his series, he coerced Professor Ogburn into writing a pamphlet, "You and Machines," on the industrial revolution and its modern consequences.

The Ogburn pamphlet was as nearly perfect for its purpose as human wit could make it. It was given wide margins and printed in 12-point type on non-glare paper, so that boys could read it without strain in wretchedly lighted mess halls. Its front and back covers were formed by a single photograph, showing a flywheel looming above a worker, and a cartoon by F. G. Cooper was put on every other page, to attract the boys' interest. Ogburn's text was entirely in one and two-syllable words, and was quick-moving and provocative. Other pamphlets commissioned by Marsh—none except "You and Machines" was ever printed—were "Youth and the Depression" and "Strikes."

As the daily press recorded at the time, Fechner ordered Ogburn's pamphlet suppressed, after having had it read by an assistant. The explanation offered by Fechner's friends is: "Maybe the Ogburn pamphlet was all right. But some of us in the labor movement (Fechner is vice-president of the International Machinists) remember the Colorado Fuel and Iron strikes, and the Homestead strike. We

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don't believe that the American people want men paid by Rockefeller or Carnegie money telling our boys what they ought to think." Since "You and Machines" shows the present order in a painfully realistic and unflattering light, and Fechner himself once called it "too pessimistic," this seems very thin. A likelier explanation is the complete disagreement between Fechner and Marsh.

Fechner's hostility prevented Marsh from doing many things he had planned to do, and presumably was the chief cause of his resignation on May 1. However, one feat accomplished under Marsh was an improvement in the C.C.C. camp libraries. At their establishment, camps had only the regulation traveling libraries of the army, which contain about a hundred books apiece and are exchanged among army posts. They are made up from a general list of some nine titles, consisting almost exclusively of the works of Rex Beach, Robert W. Chambers, James Oliver Curwood, J. S. Fletcher, Zane Grey, Talbot Mundy, E. Phillips Oppenheim, Sax Rohmer, Rafael Sabatini and Edgar Wallace. The War Department has now been persuaded to add books by other authors, including Louis Bromfield, John Buchan, Edna Ferber, T. E. Lawrence, Emil Ludwig, William McFee, Christopher Morley, Booth Tarkington, Thornton Wilder and Stefan Zweig. A very few books deal definitely with economics and politics: Charles and Mary Beard's "History of the United States," John T. Flynn's "God's Gold" and Matthew Josephson's "Robber Barons." A great victory gained by the educational division was the placing of an inexpensive encyclopedia in each camp.

Most of what Marsh accomplished, however, was done through his educational supervisors, one in each of the nine army-corps areas. A number of these have been extremely able men. Away from the eye of Fechner, they have separately carried out many of the policies that Marsh wished to have adopted openly by the whole C.C.C. In the Fifth Corps Area, for example, Dr. Nat T. Frame has tried to shift the boys' often morbid preoccupation with marriage to realistic discussions in their camp forums. Three of the proposed discussions, in part, follow: "Second Meeting: Name the features of the family among Hebrews, Greeks and Romans. Was it the whim of some individual that such laws [forbidding a man to have many wives] were passed, or what was the origin of the monogamous family? Third Meeting: What position does the man occupy in the family of today, as compared with his position in the early American family in regard to authority and discipline? Fifth Meeting: Debate: Resolved, the old-fashioned family is no longer needed in American life."

Dr. Frame has also tried to drag out into the light the half-conscious sense of injustice that many boys feel about their pay. When a boy joins the C.C.C., he allots $25 of his $30-a-month wage to his family. In many cases, incidentally, his family is thereafter removed from the relief rolls. The boy thus has only $5 a month for himself. Since he lives and works under institutional discipline, it is easy for him to feel that his position does not greatly differ from that of a boy in one of our model jails—a jail, for example, like New Hampton Farms in New York. An outline for a camp discussion of this problem is: "What does an enrollee get for his labor? Is it in kind or in money? Is it a fair wage? How much do men of like age, education and experience get paid? Is that a fair wage? How much do college graduates get when they begin work these days? How many of them get jobs at all?" In another corps area, boys are urged to discuss "Youth and the Depression," the title of one of Marsh's suppressed pamphlets, and a number of official Soviet documents on youth in Russia are included in the suggested reading.

Because of Fechner's non-coöperation, lack of funds and the meddling of Democratic patronage distributors, Marsh had difficulty in getting camp educational advisers of the type he wanted. There has been a 33 1-3 percent turnover in camp advisers. As late as last February, 430 camps were still without an adviser serving full time. In a majority of camps educational courses were first set up by the camp commander, and for the most part consisted of shorthand, typewriting and English, for no reason except that material for them was easily available. Marsh recognized the bitter truth that boys in the C.C.C. cannot hope to compete for white-collar jobs with boys whose parents have been able to keep them in high school, and quietly sought to shift the C.C.C.'s vocational courses to the manual trades. Typewriting still has the largest enrolment, but close behind it comes auto mechanics, chiefly because each camp possesses a number of trucks, of which the boys are as proud as a cavalry regiment is of its horses. Many boys study forestry, soil engineering and other phases of their conservation work.

After these come courses in general adult knowledge, together with a group under the repellent title of "Hobbies." All educational work in the C.C.C. is entirely voluntary, and advisers are under orders to follow the boys' interests. Among the courses are: French, Italian, Latin, physiology, psychology, social and economic problems, trigonometry, aeronautics, archery, auction bridge, auctioneering, barbering, Bible study, dancing, operation of Diesel engines, dramatics, embalming, etiquette, public speaking, rug-making, sketching and taxidermy. The course in dancing has 1,200 students, and was instituted partly to give the boys a regularized means of seeing girls. Etiquette followed when it was discovered that, under the eyes of their comrades, the boys were too shy to treat the girls civilly. One boy is studying embalming, takes a correspondence course in it. A taxidermy class, according to report, stuffs the household pets of the neighborhood for pay, and with its profits has furnished the camp recreation hall. Fifty-four percent

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of the boys in the C.C.C. are participating in the educational work. Its great weakness arises from the fact that all studying is done at night, when the boys are exhausted by a hard day's work out of doors. The program will never amount to as much as it should until daylight time is provided for it.

The two commonest accusations against the C.C.C. are, first, that it is militaristic, and, second, that it is a step towards fascism. It is true that, at its inception, the C.C.C. was used by General MacArthur as an exercise in war mobilization. He boasts that, in the ninety days after the C.C.C. was authorized, the army enrolled 270,000 boys and transported 55,000 of them to camps across the continent, while, in the ninety days after the declaration of war on Germany in 1917, only 181,000 men were mobilized, and only 16,000 were embarked for France. Except for this episode, however, there is little substance in the charge of militarism. Military drill is forbidden, and this prohibition is generally, although not completely, observed. When the New York Daily News presented Fechner with a petition, bearing 30,000 names, for military drill in the C.C.C., he refused even to consider it.

To the accusation of fascism, no wholly satisfactory answer can be made. The trend of the C.C.C.'s educational program is altogether away from fascism. The official purpose of the C.C.C., which is to conserve and improve America's resources by coöperative effort, without profit, for the benefit of all citizens, does not jibe with fascist ideas. However, at least in theory, it is impossible to take 300,000, or 600,000, young men out of the traditional American family system, and organize them on a basis of loyalty to each other and their camp leaders, without by the same act creating a political instrument of unknown potentialities. Quite innocently, a continuous effort is being made to create among the boys a C.C.C. *esprit de corps*. More than nine hundred camps have their own newspapers, many well printed on borrowed presses. Visits of boy leaders and athletic contests take place among camps. For a dollar, you can buy a metal C.C.C. signet ring, with a pine tree surmounting crossed axes. In at least one instance, boys have been discharged by their camp commander for communistic beliefs, although it should be said that circulation of the communist youth organ, Spark, is officially permitted.

Frequent demands have been made to have the C.C.C. wholly removed from the War Department's control. Against this, however, it must be recognized that many camps are situated in isolated spots, far from the protection of ordinary civil government, and that the army has had long experience in maintaining essential standards of order, sanitation and fire protection. In the opinion of the writer, the two great needs of the C.C.C. are better central organization, and an ending of the enmity between Fechner's office and the educational division. During the next two years, however, a partial remedy for both these faults would be simply to give increased and specific powers to the educational director chosen to succeed Marsh. Through his corps-area supervisors and camp advisers, an educational director, if permitted, could rapidly uncover camps that were doing badly. With sufficient authority, he could also rapidly give the C.C.C.'s educational program the unity it needs. However, because of his labor sympathies, and as a barrier to militarism and fascism, Fechner probably ought to remain as the C.C.C.'s head.

Most people who have had anything to do with the C.C.C. wish it to be made permanent, and talk of William James's moral equivalent of war. Nevertheless, democratic institutions are probably best preserved when adolescent males remain within the family system, and woo girls of their fancy, and plan for families of their own. Camps might perhaps be continued by the government for boys who wish to make forestry a career. With this exception, the less this country does to prolong the gang age in its youth, the better.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

This is the second of two articles on the Civilian Conservation Corps.—THE EDITORS.

Housing Made Clear

THAT REMINDS me. We have all been reading and weeping of late about the government's housing program, if, as and when, and it reminds me of another housing program that was long ago initiated and vitiated by the government of another country which we might as well call Usonia. There was a business crisis there, too, and there were no pork chops for millions and the children were crying for beer, and it was decided to give them houses instead, so that they could make up for the calories they lacked by having plenty of sunshine-A vitamins and plenty of pots to cook no chickens in. And the program was announced with headlines in all the Usonian newspapers—

But let me tell the whole story in words of one or more syllables, so that everybody can get it absolutely straight and clear.

The gutters of Usonia were filled with the hair torn from the heads of raffish women protesting against the price of copper, the streets of Usonia were green with grass because there were no horses to eat it, and starvation was thriving. A Council of Great Minds was organized by Vieux Tuberosum, the Chief Vacillator, to deal with the situation, which was felt to be getting acute because no one had any money to buy luxuries. The remedy seemed obvious: raise the price of necessities, and those who could not buy at low prices would be forced to buy at high prices. There was only one

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difficulty to this simple solution—how to raise the prices.

After some brain-sweating and oracle-consulting, the Great Minds decided on a method. The heavy industries were to be stimulated. It seemed that millions who had no pork chops had no homes either; at least not nice homes. If only nice homes could be built for the millions who had no nice homes, the heavy industries would be stimulated and people would go back to work instead of living in necessity and there would again be money to buy luxuries at preprosperously low prices because of the shortage of necessities at high prices. So the minds declared an emergency and hundreds of millions of latecks were assigned to build houses so prices of milk and clothes could go up to a point where those who did not need milk or clothes could make a profit and not have to go to work.

The idea was hailed as salvation. Processions formed in the streets and burned down houses so that there would be more houses to build. It was firmly believed that not only would the heavy industries be stimulated, but that prices would go up and down, slums be cleared of their gullion, the death rate eliminated, crime promoted and the apple crop improved all by one simple gesture. The dither grew to the proportions of a lather. Architects kissed social workers and politicians leaped for joy and wise men bounded like little lambs and the poor got poorer and in all the rejoicing no one noticed, far on the horizon, like a cloud no bigger than a billboard, a realtor riding in a dudgeon.

Imposing offices were set up in a maze in Capital-Capitals, the capital of Usonia. Major Domo was appointed to spend the latecks and see that people got to work building houses on the sites of office buildings. He took the dither firmly in hand, appointed twenty-two experts to assist him and a night watchmen to assist them.

Inside of three days, four hundred thousand and sixteen corporations limited to small dividends and unlimited profits rushed in and demanded their rights. Major Domo, however, refused to give them profits. The dividends could not be found, so the cotton crop was ploughed under. This left the boll-weevils to their own devices, and the cloud on the horizon got larger. Usonia cheered wildly but not too well—no one like Major Domo had been known in Usonia before.

A century had now passed and the rich were not getting much richer. A storm of protest arose, which had the usual result; it blew over. Major Domo proclaimed everyone wrong except himself, which was indubitably true, and stuck his neck out just long enough to have the Duke of Sinai, who was absent-minded at the time, mistake it for a rock and smite it, trying to get water to put under a bridge which was going dry because of the shortage of watered stock. The Major pulled his head in, bloody but unbowed, and promptly allocated the latecks he had allocated to nothing to himself to reallocate.

It was all very edifying, but meanwhile no prices had gone up except necessities and consequently wages had gone down, so that the people who had nothing still had it. Dividends began soaring so the latecks were diluted with acorns and called lastecks, but this had no effect on anything. This was either wrong for the right reason or right for the wrong reason, depending on whether or not a mirror was used. Consequently the great minds jumped through the looking-glass, and the cloud, now clearly discernible as locusts, settled down to get theirs.

"We have done nothing," they chirped, "since the days of Pharaoh except suck blood. Give us a chance and we'll show how to get things done."

This appeal appealed to the minds on the other side of the looking-glass, and the country was turned over to the locusts. They appointed a Big Shot to stimulate the heavy industries which were still torpid from overeating. The Shot was a great power in the citrate of magnesia industry, not a mere theoretician with a good light. A couple of semesters passed, and Usonians who had nothing refused to spend it on automatic pineapple corers and zipper doors. The locusts were indignant and suggested that if citrate of magnesia didn't work castor oil might. Still homes remained unbuilt, the apple crop got lice and the death rate continued. The Big Shot spent so many lastecks beating the gongsters of the press that he convinced himself he was a tom-tom and resigned to take up tap-dancing in a roadside huff.

Evidently nobody had any money, but nobody thought of that. The grass in the streets grew higher, dividends increased and more people went without pork chops. A pall like an old potato settled on the land. Major Domo tried to spend some of the lastecks he had on allocation and the locusts told him he couldn't because of the Bull Pons Asinorum which forbade anyone except themselves to help themselves, and they were already doing that. More cotton was ploughed under, and pigs were deprived of their squeals to provide whistles for red herrings.

It was a delicate situation and called for the greatest efforts of the great minds, who broke the looking-glass trying to get back out in front. They demanded that Major Domo turn over to the Foundation for Useless Effort all the lastecks he had allocated to not put people to work building homes. This was easily done, as two-thirds of the lastecks were allocated. This was a great triumph for minds, because it made people ashamed of themselves for spending less than they did not have. True, it left the Major without much to do except put oil in the lamps of China, it left the Big Shot with nothing done except his resignation, it left the heavy industries heavy, and it left Usonia just where it was before only with more lefts than was quite right. That is why all cats have five toes, except six-toed cats, which have twenty-four.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL.

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Washington Notes

Who Shall Amend the Constitution?—
Hands across the Bonus Veto—
Farley's Marble Game

IT SEEMS evident that, at least for the moment, Mr. Roosevelt would like to fight the coming election on the issue of constitutional reform. To thoughtful liberals in Congress, this prospect is definitely alarming. They agree that before social control over industry can be achieved, it is probable that the Constitution will need amending. But they insist that constitutional changes should be made by a genuinely liberal administration, and not by one as deeply under the influence of business as Mr. Roosevelt's. An amendment to give Congress greater power over industry and commerce, they point out, is not in itself a liberal issue. Whether it results in benefit or harm to the workers of the country obviously depends on the laws subsequently passed by the administration in power.

The liberals in Congress fear that this will not be sufficiently understood by the general public. They know Mr. Roosevelt's talent for never defining his objectives, and they fear that he will make people believe that, in asking for constitutional reform, he is putting himself at the head of a great and daring crusade. If he can do this, it is possible that he can gather the support of a large part of the independent left-wing vote, and thus make the formation of a left opposition party impossible.

However, these fears may be needless. Mr. Roosevelt has shifted his ground before. His fury against the London Conference arose in part from the fact that, during the visits of MacDonald and Laval to the White House, he had made statements that he later wished to default on. Within six months of his denunciation of the gold standard, he proudly stabilized the dollar in terms of gold. Similarly, once the humiliation of the Schechter decision is forgotten, he may feel kindlier towards the Supreme Court. There are, indeed, observers who expect new, more carefully drafted N.R.A. legislation to be presented and passed at this session.

There has been a noticeably warmer feeling towards Mr. Roosevelt on the part of certain business leaders during the last few days. This is less a result of the N.R.A. decision, I think, than of his veto of the Patman bill. Evidence is accumulating that the bonus veto was the exploit by which Mr. Roosevelt proved himself to the old men of the business tribe. More specifically, it was the complete fulfilment of his agreement with the bankers last fall. Although the bonus issue in itself had only the remotest connection with conservatism or radicalism, many observers here think that the President's veto will prove to have been a decisive step in cementing his alliance with big business.

Last fall, when bankers and industrialists slipped quietly in and out of the White House, they asked one question: "Will the administration stop spending money?" Only that interested them. Would the President give them back sole power to make loans or withhold them, to pay wages or refuse to pay them—in short, to run the country's economic life in the good old way? Beyond doubt, Mr. Roosevelt assented. In return, business leaders gave a highly qualified promise not to oppose his social-security program.

Soon afterwards, the $4,800,000,000 work-relief bill sent big business into a tantrum. Patiently it was explained to big business that, under the administration's plans, still less would be spent on the unemployed in the coming fiscal year than is being spent in the current one. Next, towards the end of March, the inflationist forces in Congress, the followers of Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend and Huey Long, showed evidence of uniting behind the Patman bill. The inflationists were in no way against capitalism, but business leaders nevertheless were inordinately terrified.

The best insight into the hidden maneuvers of the present session is afforded by the testimony of Mr. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, Mr. Perkins of the National City and their New York City colleagues on the Eccles banking bill. This testimony was given at the time that the bonus drive was at its hottest. The issue at controversy in the Eccles bill, it must be understood, is a tweedledee-tweedledum affair: whether the Reserve Bank governors who sit with the proposed open-market committee of the Federal Reserve Board should or should not vote. As Eccles said in his radio speech two weeks ago, its practical importance is nil, and, in fact, the bankers paid little attention to it. What they said, in loud, distinct tones, was that the administration must stop spending on its own account, and must prevent any group from forcing it into spending, or private capital would go into retirement.

This was a threat. Mr. Roosevelt responded by sending Mr. Morgenthau to explain over the radio that the international value of the dollar was fixed, and that America was prepared for world stabilization. A few days later, Mr. Roosevelt himself went to the Capitol and vetoed the bonus with all the puritanical indignation with which President Cleveland demanded the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act. The bonus was a vicious thing, and ought to have been vetoed, but its advocates did not deserve the whanging they got. It is possible to believe that the inflationists' intellectuals are weak and their leaders disreputable, but it is not possible to believe that their grievances against banker rule are wholly unjust and that this rule should not be remedied. All the reactionary newspapers printed editorials praising Mr. Roosevelt, some of them in terms more hysterical than any used since the Armistice. Each one pointed out that he had not merely vetoed the bonus but that he had also taken an unequivocal stand against great expenditures of any kind. Probably each one had the unwritten postscript: "We were horribly, horribly afraid, Franklin, that you had walked out on us. But now you've gone the limit, and we apologize."

All this doesn't mean that the rank and file of business men, the type that votes at meetings of the United States Chamber of Commerce, will be friendlier to Mr. Roosevelt, or that they will aid in restoring the wages-and-hours provisions of the N.R.A., or give allegiance to the Wagner labor-disputes bill. But the few leaders are greatly pleased. They have found out what they have wanted to know since the President was inaugurated. They have found out that they can make agreements with him, and that, in a tight place, he will stand up for their interests as sincerely as Hoover or Coolidge—and far more courageously.

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Probably no one listens to the reports of Jim Farley's eventual retirement from the Cabinet with more comfort than Ickes. The fact has been generally overlooked that Huey Long's accusations against Farley, if true, amply explain and justify Ickes' long standing hostility to Farley. During his speeches urging a Senate investigation, Long produced affidavits from two former employees of James Stewart and Company, Inc., builders, purporting to show that through a change engineered by Farley in specifications for marble used in the Federal Court building in New York City, the Stewart company profited to the extent of $383,000. With them, Long exhibited part of a report made by Louis R. Glavis, Ickes' chief investigator, estimating the profits of the Stewart company, because of changed specifications, at half a million dollars. The Glavis report did not, it should be said, mention Farley. These are serious accusations, but neither Farley nor the Stewart concern has offered to disprove them. Although the New York courthouse was built directly under the supervision of the Treasury, the responsibility for the administration building program rests upon Ickes, or at least he feels it does. Ickes has carried scrupulousness to the highest point it has ever reached in political life, yet, when the first definite charges are made against an administration project, he finds his hands tied. It is not surprising that he has had unkind thoughts about Farley and will watch his departure with relief.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

An Open Letter to the President—Past Mistakes Make for Future Wisdom—Another Chance for Democracy

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—If I were your dearest and fondest well wisher I could not give you more sincere advice than I offer you here. It would be easy, as some of your erstwhile friends are doing, to give way to crowing over your present discomfiture. Thus, Mr. Walter Lippmann, who, like yourself, is wiser in 1935 than he was in 1933, speaks now of the "midsummer madness which possessed the New Dealers in July, 1933," and he talks of the N.R.A. as the supreme folly of the New Deal, violating the "essential principles of the American constitutional system." This is, to say the least, a bit ungracious. For in June and July, 1933, when the midsummer madness sent the New Dealers out upon their N.R.A. course, Mr. Lippmann earnestly supported the plan. Before the N.R.A. bill was passed he said it, like other New Deal bills, was essentially simple, "designed to encourage, in exceptional cases by government aid *or compulsion,* the coöperation of producers in order to reduce the cutthroat competition which exists, etc." The plan has not worked. Mr. Lippmann does not say that he was wrong then, but that you were mad.

I think I have a better right to speak now. For I then thought, not that you were mad, but that you were ill advised. I venture to suggest that in the difficult situation that now confronts you, you have a right to distrust the advice of the men who helped to pilot you into this crisis. They have been, so far as N.R.A. is concerned, almost unfailingly wrong. Let us see.

In the beginning your friendly critics said that price-fixing was a mistake. That is now universally admitted. They said it was a grievous blunder to suspend the Sherman anti-trust law in order to permit trade associations to formulate and administer codes, as that was a delegation of the sovereign function of legislation as respects our economic life into the hands of private trade groups; that this was a departure from the democratic processes that characterize our system of government and was therefore unwise and unconstitutional. The Supreme Court has now unanimously wiped out the N.R.A. on this ground.

They insisted that you were making a serious mistake to adopt a course of action that had been advocated for years by big business: namely, the establishment of self-rule in industry; that it was doubly wrong to do this under the pretension of setting up a great liberal movement: that it was destined to failure and that when the failure came, the very men who had led you into the fatal course would be the first to turn upon you. This is precisely what has happened. You are called upon now to take the full odium of the failure of their pet plan, while they howl with glee because you are in a jam.

This is past. A crisis confronts you. At the moment you may seem to be discredited because your New Deal is in eclipse. You can consider the problem as a political one. In that case you will decide that what you must do is save your face; that you must attempt a stratagem which will seem to preserve the N.R.A.

A great political philosopher once said that there were certain kinds of political crises where the best politics was to forget politics and where the statesman's only hope of escape was to take counsel with his conscience; to do the thing he believed to be eternally right and trust to fortune and to history for his verdict. Such a moment has arrived for you. I truly believe that if you will ruthlessly exclude from your counsels, at least for this moment, the politicians who are thinking only in terms of 1936, and the N.R.A. champions whose reputations are sewed up in the fate of the N.R.A. and hence are thinking in terms of face-saving, that you will be in the way of coming to a sound course.

Next let me beg you to eschew as you would the plague any repetition of that hysterical haste with which you were borne along in May and June, 1933. Had there been sober reflection then, this could not have happened. Now I perceive that some of your advisers are urging a voluntary effort by business to salvage the codes and that they believe "a bill could be rushed through" to accomplish this. I implore you not to be hurried into so fatal a step.

What has been lost? Price-fixing? Let me repeat that even Mr. Richberg seems to admit that price-fixing is a mistake. Maximum hours and minimum wages? Cannot a law be passed to guarantee these to labor? It must be limited to interstate commerce of course. But there was never any reason to believe it could be made to apply to anything else. Congress will pass such bills—was ready to do so, in fact, when the N.R.A. was brought forward to kill those bills. They need not be thirty-hour bills. Congress can set up a definite hour-and-wage standard with flexibility within defined limits, to be administered by the Federal Trade Commission or the proposed National Labor

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Relations Board. These benefits can be saved without any panicky, hurried or hysterical bluster.

Is collective bargaining lost? Certainly everyone is convinced that Section 7a had become a mere form of words. There is no real collective bargaining in the N.R.A. In some industries collective bargaining was established. But it was done only where labor used a weapon that labor has always possessed—its own power through organization. Whatever labor had through Section 7a, which was little, can be retained and amplified and strengthened through the adoption of the Wagner bill, carefully scrutinized to see that it avoids the constitutional pitfalls. The rest is in the hands of labor itself.

Child labor? Alas, no one hates that more than I do. But after all, when the N.R.A. was established, child labor was not one of the main objectives. That came as a sort of after-thought. If anything was gained on that front, it was an incident of the battle. And you must realize that nothing permanent was gained. Child labor flourished almost wholly in intrastate industries. Nothing can be accomplished until the child labor amendment is passed.

What is left? Production control and fair-trade practices. On this score, surely we ought to be able to agree on one thing. Let us assume that there must be control of production and of trade practices. Certainly, in our democratic state, this control should never be surrendered into the hands of any group of employers. Yet this is what was done under the N.R.A. This is what the Supreme Court has denounced as unconstitutional. If trade practices are to be regulated, it must be done by a body that represents the state—the sovereign people and nobody else. If the Federal Trade Commission is not the proper body, then some other commission can be set up. It should draw all its power from the state and the limits within which it shall determine and frustrate unfair practices must be clearly defined by Congress. Unfair trade practices should mean practices unfair to the public. And the enforcement of all this must be in the hands of public agencies. There is no objection to trade associations combining to assist the government in the enforcement of public laws. It would not be a violation of the anti-trust act if employers combined to assist the district attorney in ridding the liquor business of gangsters or the banking business of forgers or any business of practices that are declared to be illegal because unfair.

You are said to be the peculiar child of good fortune. Certainly you have been singularly favored by Fate to have your fame rescued from the stain it would surely suffer in the coming years if the vicious "self-rule in industry" philosophy, hastily spawned under the N.R.A., had been permitted to get a firm foothold in our system and develop, as it surely would, to a logical extinction of the democratic state. You would have been credited with the dubious distinction of having inaugurated that. This is what your friends in the Department of Commerce might have done for you. This, then, is the moment for you definitely to break with these dangerous counsellors of the Right and reset your course in the direction of democratic solutions. Above all, it is the moment to face the essentials in our disturbed world and set about the long, difficult, but inevitable task of more equitably distributing the income our economic system produces.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Y.M.C.A. in the Great War

SIR: I am in entire agreement with the spirit and point of view of the article "War and the Common Soldier" in your issue of May 22, but call your attention to an unintentional injustice and inaccuracy in the paragraph beginning "The Y.M.C.A. encouraged this caste system." It would be more correct to say that the Y.M.C.A. was the victim of the caste system, for its heart and influence were the other way. General Pershing offered us the rank of officers, but the organization refused because that would erect a barrier between us and the men we were to serve. Women in the service of the Y.M.C.A. danced with the enlisted men. Every effort was put forth to serve primarily the men. . . . Of course I do not deny that officers had separate clubrooms, and I could not imagine one standing in line with privates to buy a package of cigarettes. He would be more apt to get a carton. Occasionally the requests of officers were embarrassing, but usually they had to be complied with. The writer of the article is right except in his blaming the Y.M.C.A. with a system that was forced upon the organization from without.

Georgetown, Tex. JOHN C. GRANBERY.

Jubilee

SIR: For months the newspapers have been conducting a great, patriotic propaganda campaign; albums of war photographs and books about "the greatest twenty-five years in the world's history" have been appearing regularly. Branded into our minds have been such phrases as these: "Our King has led us through war and depression to victory and prosperity"; "Our King, the symbol of the Unity of Empire." Popular enthusiasm for the fact that George has managed to remain on the throne for twenty-five years has been forced up to fever point.

Only The Daily Worker has struck a discordant note. "Twenty-five years of Hunger and War." "While thousands of pounds are being spent on Jubilee Celebrations unemployed men are starving on seventeen shillings a week."

It is significant that while the streets were being decorated it had been announced in Parliament that we were to have 500 more first-line bombing and fighting airplanes to give us equality with Germany. The National Government is undoubtedly feeling nervous about its chances at the next election; and this is probably connected with the fact that it was decided to celebrate after twenty-five years of George's reign instead of after fifty as was the case with Queen Victoria. An election in October will possibly give them victory in this, the Jubilee year. The Jubilee will serve the double purpose of covering up the war preparations and bringing the National Government back into power.

The day of the King's state drive to St. Paul's Cathedral for the Thanksgiving Service has arrived. Fleet Street—the heart of the ballyhoo press machine—has the appearance of a small-town fair-ground on a summer's day. Cheap red, white and blue streamers hang from every building: Union Jacks, flags of the Dominions, of Japan, Germany and France stand out among the bunting. A hot sun beats down upon the crowds lining the street. Low murmuring and laughter. On the pavement's edge a line of policemen and in front of it ranks of khaki-clad soldiers. From every window peer faces; on every balcony are placed chairs for the rich. Windows in Fleet Street have been advertised for hire at $250. Just beyond me, on the second floor of a building, is a battery of movie cameras with pale cameramen waiting, under smart hats, for the King.

Two hours to go. . . . Men and women push against each other with sweating bodies, restless under the sun. A soldier has fainted from the heat and is being carried away to a waiting ambulance; behind the stretcher a small ambulance man walks, carrying the soldier's heavy rifle. . . .

Suddenly we hear cheering in the distance. "It must be the Prime Minister's procession." A troop of cavalrymen with plumred and navy-blue uniforms rides past. In the first open carriage are Ramsay MacDonald and his daughter, he with a brilliant,

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plumed military hat and red uniform, she in a plain blue dress. They do not evoke much applause. Next come the Empire Premiers, content to ride in this modern version of a Roman Triumph. The wife of a Premier merely simpers until she sees the movie cameras, whereupon she begins to smile sweetly and bow. There is another wait of half an hour. The members of the ruling class on the balconies opposite drink tea and sip cocktails. The Duchess of York, Princess Marina, the Prince of Wales. All curiously sensitive to the cameras. . . .

The horses trot down the hill. Their riders in fur busbys and ceremonial dress, bearing lances, look exhausted. . . . The climax has been reached. The cheering redoubles in intensity. A large open carriage emerges out of the heat. Queen Mary, in a silver dress, a smile on her face, obviously pleased by the loyalty of "her people." Next to her sits "George Wettin," as The Daily Worker calls him. His eyes are bulging out of a deeply lined face. Seeing the cameras he raises a limp hand to his forehead in a salute. "The King's Most Excellent Majesty."

The people, thinking now of their dinners, push back and swirl down a side-street. As I move slowly along I hear the sound of a hymn, coming from the door of a large and crowded public house; the service in St. Paul's has begun, a service that is being relayed by wireless to the Empire.

London. MICHAEL YOUNG.

An Institute on Canadian-American Relations

SIR: The Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics will hold its fourth session at Lake Couchiching, Ontario, August 8 to 17, 1935. The program this year, as announced by the committee under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Falconer, formerly president of the University of Toronto, will be concerned with Canadian-American Relations and Common Concerns. Dr. Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago will give a course on New World Foreign Policy; Bruce Bliven, editor of The New Republic, will deliver a series of addresses on Domestic Recovery in the United States and Canada; and Dr. George Albert Coe, American educator and religious leader, will give several lectures on Psychological Factors in Social Conflict. . . .

The Institute is under the auspices of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, but is being planned and promoted in coöperation with a number of organizations interested in international affairs, including, in the United States, the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of International Education, the League of Nations Society, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. . . .

Registration for the period of the Institute is $8 and reasonable rates for board and lodging are obtainable. A special folder giving further information regarding the holiday facilities of Lake Couchiching, as well as further details about the program, may be obtained by writing to the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, 40 College Street, Toronto.

Toronto, Can. R. E. G. DAVIS, Secretary.

Where Do Liberal Americans Stand?

SIR: Do not the answers to Professor Fairchild's questionnaire [The New Republic, April 17] merely prove the obvious? That Tom Amlie, George S. Counts, Milo Reno, Mauritz Hallgren and similar individuals believe in far-reaching reforms and sharp changes in the social system is fairly apparent to those conversant with their activities and writings. Professor Fairchild says the principal conclusion of his analysis is that "it is possible to get intelligent . . . people to express themselves on proposals for definite social action. . . ." It appears to me that the recipients of his questionnaire were selected because they *already had* expressed themselves on "proposals for definite social action."

As they stand, I do not believe the answers to Professor Fairchild's interrogations prove a great deal—and numerous readers of your columns here agree with this view. I am of the opinion that there is a way in which Professor Fairchild's excellent questions can be put to far more conclusive use. What does the average American—not Norman Thomas and Mr. Louis Hacker—think of Professor Fairchild's proposals? Or what does the average *liberal* American think of them? After all, so long as the ballot box is the instrument of political change in this nation, the average liberal opinion will be considerably more indicative of future events, than the opinions of the select group chosen by yourselves and Professor Fairchild.

I herewith offer to help conduct such an experiment. Oregon, on its record, is one of the Union's most progressive states. Supposing I choose at random fifty names from the state Grange, fifty from the state federation of labor, fifty from the unemployed front, fifty from the mailing list of Senator Peter Zimmerman (state progressive leader), and fifty liberals picked at large. If you then will provide me with 250 of your questionnaires, we shall see what the average progressive from a fairly liberal commonwealth thinks of drastic changes in the present social structure. I believe these results will be more important and significant than the answers submitted by the nationally known liberals and planners named by Professor Fairchild.

You might even send some extra questionnaires and we could submit them to Townsend club members, a movement of enormous proportions in the West. Then we could definitely ascertain just how progressive are the followers of the Long Beach physician. The same might be done to the Utopians, the Share-the-Wealth units, etc.

Is The New Republic willing to collaborate in this research to the extent of two or three hundred questionnaires?

Portland, Ore. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER.

[The New Republic will be happy to coöperate with individuals or organizations wishing to make such a survey as Mr. Neuberger suggests. Copies of the questionnaire will be sent in small quantities free of charge, and in larger quantities at cost, 25 cents per hundred or $2.50 per thousand. They may be had by writing to the Circulation Manager, The New Republic, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York City.—THE EDITORS.]

Extracts from Letters

A COPY of the communication addressed to the Nobel committee by the American section of the International League for Academic Freedom, in which the League nominates Carl von Ossietzky for the Nobel Peace Prize, has been sent to us by Professor Horace M. Kallen, secretary of the League. This follows the letter we printed last week from Werner Hegemann, in which he told of the worldwide movement supporting the nomination of von Ossietzky, brilliant German editor and crusader for peace, who is now held prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp.

Herbert Solow, of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, New York City, sends us information that he feels is an important supplement to the article by Robert Cantwell, "Better News from California," in our issue of May 22. Mr. Solow points out that eight Sacramento defendants were convicted; that among them is Norman Mini; that Mini and Lorine Norman refused probation; that Mini is now in San Quentin; that Mini's appeal is being handled by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The American Folk Song Society writes that its fifth annual outdoor festival will be held this year on June 9 at the cabin of Jean Thomas, the "Traipsin' Woman," near Ashland, Kentucky. The feature event is a production of "The Call of the Cumberlands," an original opera written by Harrison Elliot, a mountain boy, who also will sing the leading role.

Scott Keyes, a student at Pennsylvania State College, writes to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. O. F. Boucke, professor of Economics, who died in March. Professor Boucke's clear-headed and courageous exposition of the evils of economic individualism made him a forceful leader whose influence extended beyond his own campus, and, as Mr. Keyes points out, his writings on such subjects as tax reform, wage legislation, investment control and social insurance gained for him widespread recognition as an original thinker among economists.

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Summer Book Section

Pareto's Republic

TAKE a Machiavelli, with his amazing sense of the springs of human conduct and his cynicism about ethics; soak him in the modern worship of scientific method; hard-boil him in a hatred for democracy in all its manifestations; fill him with an intensive animus against proletarian movements and Marxian theory; add a few dashes of economic fundamentalism; stir it all with a poetic feeling about the ruling élite; sprinkle thoroughly with out-of-the-way erudition; season with a good deal of acuteness and homely wisdom; and serve at interminable length. If you follow this recipe you should have something that resembles Pareto's treatise on "The Mind and Society."[1]

I do not want to underestimate the personal achievement that these four volumes represent. Here is prodigality—of ideas, of learning, of spleen. Here is a far-flung exploration of history and human foibles, in two thousand pages with an enormous footnotage. Here are a million words, and many of them not at all foolish, poured into the huge mold of an argument. Pareto was an old man, well on toward seventy, when he wrote this work. He could look back on a career in which he had been successively mathematician, engineer, political journalist, professor of Economics at Lausanne. Now, almost alone on his large Swiss estate, suffering from heart disease and insomnia, surrounded by his cats whom he adored and relatively unmolested by the pallid democratic beings whom he despised, he gathered his strength for his greatest effort. It would chart human history and social behavior, as cold and unswerving in its course as the calculations of the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Although he failed (as anyone would fail in such an effort) his failure has a ring of greatness in it. But over this greatness there hangs the pall of death. Written on the eve of the World War, in the midst of class tensions such as the great strikes in France and the Red Week in Italy, this book bears on it marks of the death agony of a culture.

Pareto seeks to apply the logico-experimental method of celestial mechanics to the very uncelestial events of this planet. Nothing will be held valid except what could, if necessary, be reduced to graphs and algebraic symbols. As though by a compulsion neurosis he plasters almost every page with manifestoes of this intent. His search for purity of method takes on the aspect of a religious quest. The reader stands uncomfortably in the presence of someone who is being washed of all bias in the blood of the scientific lamb.

Let it be said unmistakably that such a logico-experimental man as Pareto sets himself up for, squeezed dry of all emotion and values, never existed except possibly on Swift's island of Laputa, where the inhabitants cut their clothes by trigonometry. Everything valid in Pareto's method can be summed up in the injunction that applies in every field to think as rigorously, honestly, realistically as possible. The rest is mumbo-jumbo. When a social scientist seeks to wrap himself in a divine objectivity you can make a shrewd guess that he is either naïve and is looking for a false sense of security, or that he has his tongue in his cheek and is trying to hide something, or else that he is more or less willfully obscuring the basic issues of social policy involved.

Pareto's central theory, that of residues and derivations, is in reality a brilliant intuition. Stated baldly it holds that human behavior is irrational (non-logical); that it is based on certain deep-lying drives (residues) in human nature; and that theories, theologies, programs, faiths are so many variable expressions (derivations) of these underlying drives. But before he is through with his theory Pareto has analyzed, classified and sub-classified these residues and derivations until he has made the whole thing cumbersome, arbitrary and just a bit absurd. He groups the residues into six general classes: of these I take it that the "instinct of combinations" covers the drive towards inventiveness and intelligence, and that "group persistences" are what American social thought has termed with a varying emphasis traditions, folkways, institutions. The derivations are grouped into four classes. Each of the classes is minutely subdivided. The entire structure is a triumph of ingenuity and shows a taxonomic talent of the first order. But when you try to use it bewilderment turns into chagrin and finally into despair.

I do not mean that the game lacks its attractiveness. Take any item of behavior on the part of your pet aversion in politics, and place its various elements in Pareto's tables of residues and derivations. It can become a fine art of annihilation. It is the Benthamite calculus of today. A Pareto scholar should not lack for mental stimulus the rest of his life, and there will be so many amateur Paretians among American intellectuals that I make bold to prophesy a seven-year plague of residues and derivations. But as a working instrument of analysis Pareto's scheme has some essential defects. He has not decided in what sense his residues are basic and in what sense his derivations are derivative. At times he seems to regard the residues as instincts, at other times as deep-lying "hungers" or human tendencies of an ever vaguer character; often (as in the case of many of the group persistences) they are only socially conditioned folkways or traditions. The derivations are sometimes the logical coating that we apply to our own non-logical actions in order to save face, and sometimes the tricks and stereotypes by which we manipulate the actions of others. The whole scheme suffers from being a classification on a single plane rather than an analysis on various planes, and leaves in darkness the basic problem of sociology —the relation of invariant traits to the variable conditionings of cultures and institutions.

Pareto's emphasis on the irrational mind will, however,

[1] The Mind and Society, by Vilfredo Pareto. Edited by Arthur Livingston. Translated by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston, with the advice and coöperation of James Harvey Rogers. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 4 vols. 2,033 pages. $20.

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have an abiding influence. He is, in a sense, the Bentham of the irrational. In fact, he is strikingly like Bentham in many of his mental traits—his narrowness, his formalism of reasoning, his crotchets and obsessions, his Linnæan bent of mind, his barbarous terminology. Somewhere during his life he picked up a corrosive realism which eats through surfaces to reveal non-logical traits in man that are unlovely to those who believe in *homo rationalis*. But the theory of residues is one of the few glimpses of this sort into the depths of life that the reader gets from Pareto. He is otherwise dismally bare of the sudden insights that one finds in Swift or Nietzsche. What Pareto gives best is not a rigorously valid analysis of the irrational, nor an artistic probing of it, but a fascinating travelogue through its darkest Africas. He roams through history and ethnology, a rather ponderous Frazer, finding instances of how men have used magic and it has passed for reason.

Clearly Pareto must be seen as part of the revolt against reason, swelling the anti-intellectualist currents of the last half century. He must therefore be related to Nietzsche, Bergson, Sorel, Freud, Lawrence and Spengler. What partly obscures this connection with them is that while they celebrate man's irrationality, he is content to lay it bare; and while they throw scientism overboard, he holds on to it, and in fact celebrates it. In this respect Pareto, despite his merciless attacks on Comte, Buckle and Mill, represents a carry-over from the positivist thought of what John Strachey has called "the century of the great hope." But this attempt to reconcile a current of intellectualism with a current of anti-intellectualism pervades the whole school of social psychology. Pareto's book was contemporary with Graham Wallas' "Great Society," Trotter's once famous herd books, Le Bon's crowd books and McDougall's instinct books, as well as a host of lesser siblings. It shares their loose and ramshackle instinct psychology, and it shares also their sense of how blind or stupid or animal-like the masses of men are when they vote or fight or unite to revolt. The Pareto vogue, on account of the peculiar translation lag, comes fifteen years after the social-psychology vogue. But the generation that feels itself on the brink of revolutions should accept the emphasis on the irrational as eagerly as the generation that felt itself on the brink of a catastrophic war.

Unlike his theory of how we think, Pareto's social theory is like an iceberg: much the greater and more sinister portion of it lies beneath the surface. It is most clearly intelligible if it is referred back to the outlines of Marxian thought, for its underlying intention is to build a counter-system to Marxism. Marxian social economics and its theory of surplus (exploited) value are matched (as developed in Pareto's earlier books) by a "pure" economics with its famous Paretian law of the distribution of income, in which income distribution is shown to follow the same curve as the distribution of ability traits. The Marxian doctrine of the class struggle is matched by the Paretian theory (borrowed from Mosca) of the circulation of the élite. Marxian economic determinism as a theory of social causation is confronted by a theory of society as a web of interdependent and mutual relations. The Paretian theory of revolution ignores the Marxian emphasis on the movement of economic forces which prepare the ground, and concentrates on the resistance that the élite can offer through their morale, and on the weakening of proletarian leadership by class-circulation. Finally the Marxian dialectic of history is matched by a semi-Spenglerian theory of rhythmical undulations in history, in which the moving forces are not the changes in the materialist basis of society but the waxing and waning of group persistences.

The central thread that runs through this network of theory is the notion of a militant élite. In the theory of class circulation the men of strength and intelligence come to the top; but there is a continuing process of decadence among them, a sloughing off of the old rot and a drawing upon new vigor. Their susceptibility to the residue of combinations weakens the élite, while the masses are retaining their stamina because of their susceptibility to the group-persistence residue. Thus the matter of relative stamina in the ruling and the underlying class at any time furnishes the rationale of revolutionary success or failure. It is the militant and cohesive élite that can become the decisive force in history. Pareto seems to have been influenced, through his friend Sorel, not only by the Bergsonian *élan vital* (in the form of class stamina) but also by Sorel's theory of violence. To Sorel violence had a transcendent and cleansing virtue, and helped to keep the body politic sturdy. Pareto's ultimate exhortation to the élite is to keep its spinal column straight and its fighting instincts in trim—and the ruling classes in Italy and Germany have illustrated his thesis.

This confronts us with the much debated question of Pareto's relation to fascism. In any sense of direct participation or influence, Pareto's fascism has been negligible. Mussolini's insistence that his mind was shaped as a student under Pareto at Lausanne, and his offer (unrejected) of senatorial honors to Pareto after his march on Rome, are inconclusive. They prove less about Pareto than they do about Mussolini's desperate efforts to rig up a respectable intellectual lineage for his own fascism.

What is much more to the point is that Pareto's theory and his preconceptions follow the approved pattern of fascist thought as we have come to recognize it. At the core of Pareto's attitude is a hatred of socialism and a contempt for democracy. He uses the epithet "socialist" vaguely, as many Americans do today with "communist," to describe anything from unemployment insurance to feminism and the new criminology; but he never utters it without a hiss. In his earlier book, "Les Systemes Socialistes," he was chiefly concerned to show socialist doctrine to be fallacious, crotchety, millennial; but in this book more than a decade later it is hard to find even a vestigial scholarly urbanity in discussing it. He seems to regard socialism as the final term in democratic degradation, since it has not only given a new messianism to labor movements but has even corrupted the élite.

But it is democracy that is the principal target. Pareto regards it, with humanitarianism, as the central deity of the new Pantheon that includes all the "modern Gods"—Progress, Tolerance, Democracy, Humanitarianism, Universal Suffrage, Solidarism, Pacifism, Tolstoyism. Against these reigning divinities he hurls his Promethean defiance. He reveals the plutocratic character of modern democracy, in which cowardice skulks behind money to buy votes and bribe legislators. His rather unalgebraic symbolism to convey the temper of plutocratic democracy rests on the distinction between the Lions and the Foxes. The Foxes are the men of craft who replace the Lions, the men of force, in governmental posts in an attempt to buy off mass unrest instead of suppressing it. Being himself (to use William James's phrase) tough-minded, Pareto has an admiration not only for tough-minded thinkers like Aristophanes, Machiavelli, Nietzsche and Sorel, but also for ruthless leonine men like Bismarck. The Foxes are eating away at

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the morale of the élite. They form an unholy alliance with plutocrats and trade-union leaders in order to keep peace and divide the spoils, and their method of keeping peace is direct bribery and social reform.

This raises the question of the exact nature of Pareto's class attitudes. An obituary notice called him "the bourgeois Karl Marx," and several American critics have taken up the expression and dubbed him the Marx of the middle class. In our American sense of middle class this would of course be wide of the mark. Pareto despised the indecisiveness of the middle class, its humanitarianism, its vulnerability to all the new modern cults and mass religions, its swarming democracy. If to be a fascist theorist is to be a theorist of middle-class revolt against the capitalists, as is sometimes asserted, Pareto does not fit the formula. Nor can he be called the theorist of the capitalist bourgeoisie, using the term in its stricter Marxian sense. Pareto draws a distinction in his thinking between the Speculators (whom he calls the S's) and the investors or *Rentiers* (the R's). In its European context this is a distinction between the predatory restlessness of the new plutocratic bourgeoisie, and the sturdy group persistences of the more conservative industrialists and the large landowners. I take it also that this is not very far from Feder's distinction in the early Hitlerite ideology between the interest slavery imposed by unproductive (Jewish) capital and the social beneficence of productive (Junker and Thyssen) capital.

Thus, the essence of Pareto's position is that of a capitalist-aristocrat who despises democratic equalitarianism and who seeks within capitalist society the more exclusive and traditional forces that will renew its vigor and steel its resistance to the proletarian thrusts. Pareto was writing in a Europe that was already on the brink of the precipice. These volumes give evidence that he was quite realistically aware of the meaning of the deepening crisis, with its heightened nationalist feeling, its conflicting imperialisms, its huge scandals of political corruption, its class tensions. That meaning lay not in the road to war but in the road to fascism. Quite strikingly the pattern of Pareto's thought reveals that fascism was not merely a post-war growth but was already integral in the European situation in 1914. If Pareto was not a fascist theorist, then fascism may be said to have cast its shadow before in the shape of Pareto's treatise.

All this leads quite obviously to the conclusion that Pareto has not so much written a scientific work as a very able and vigorous polemic in defense of the traditional forces within capitalist society. And in doing so he has given us, as Plato did, a picture of his Republic. Every social theorist gives his vision of the world, whether he presents it as scientific reality or Utopian dream. Even when he seeks to thrust his own values into the background, they operate just as effectively as preconceptions. Pareto's values burst the mold of his elaborate scientific categories with an emotional force all the greater for his attempt at suppression. Every scientist is at bottom a poet, and any analysis of a society implies, on the writer's part, an ideal society. Dig deep into any social theory and you will strike a poetic myth.

What was Pareto's Republic like? It must be remembered that Pareto's own origins were those of a capitalist aristocrat. He was descended from a family of Genoese merchant princes whom Bonaparte elevated to the nobility and who afterward fought in the cause of Italian nationalist liberties. He learned to hate, with an inverted Mazzinian intensity, the compromises of Italian and French democracy. His book seeks to evoke a polity in which the older aristocracy will come back to strengthen a decadent capitalist élite, and together the landed aristocracy, the *rentier* class, the army and the most militant of the industrialists will carve out their world. They will sweep plutocratic democracy aside, suppress the proletarian rabble and replace the false humanitarianism of the middle class by derivations from real group persistences. It will be a Republic ruled by fierce young conquering gods, continually renewed by fresh blood. And the ruling gods will not hesitate to use force, both as a way of holding the masses in their place and as a way of maintaining their fighting instincts. The trade unions will no longer be allowed to keep labor in feudal darkness. The masses will be so much material to be shaped in the image of the desires of the ruling gods: they will be valuable for harboring the group traditions and for their hatred of novelty, but the only art they need to know is the art of being ruled. As for the rest of the population, a Catonian severity will prevail toward anything humanitarian (even Christianity) that may weaken their primitive stamina. Criminals, pacifists and socialists will be hunted down like disease-bearing rats. In war and in foreign affairs it will be the courage of the Lions that will be the glory of the Republic.

But enough. It must be clear by now that if the real test of the validity of a Republic is its capacity to get itself enacted, Pareto has the advantage. "That illustrious Greek dreamer," as he calls Plato, had to be content with his book. But Pareto's Republic is now a reality: it is Hitler's totalitarian state.

MAX LERNER.

Green in December

That great desire for waters ever flowing
Cooling and deep. O soft, O willow-shaded
Never fulfilled. How fresh the waters run
Under perpetual April, under such a sun
Brightness falling on new grass, light green and
ever blowing.

Dear dream diminishing, yet still more sweet
As the years waver, tremble and retreat.
Open my eyes at last, at last to see
Those city trees lost, hard and sharp and true,
The blossoms stunted and the fruits how few.
Stone under feet, the stony skies descend,
Harsh and impersonal, greet as a friend
The rocky morning and the noisy noon,
The desperate evening clothed in metal stars
And so begin your wars.

Twixt shrinking flesh and willing spirit stands
The invincible sword on whom all victory waits,
Between the desolation and the Fates
Run only living waters and the cool
Spring-waving grass remains, the heaven-drowned
flowers endure,
Breaking through city pavements, gold and pure.

MARYA ZATURENSKA.

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Books on Social Reconstruction

Librarians, teachers and general readers often ask us for a comprehensive list of books dealing with the problems of the world today. The list printed below is, we believe, more careful and complete than any other that is now available.

It covers the books published between the fall of 1933 and the early spring of 1935, with a separate section devoted to new editions. It includes books on history, economics, national and international politics; on the general problems of peace, war and building a new society. It includes not only works of information but also novels, poems and plays. And it is comprehensive in the sense that it includes all shades of progressive opinion and all sorts of authors united only in their opposition to war, to capitalist dictatorship and to the oppression of racial or cultural minorities.

The list is sponsored by the Book Group, an organization not connected with any political party. Its primary function is to further the distribution of books dealing with contemporary problems and thereby to create a climate of opinion in which healthy political and economic thought may flourish.—THE EDITORS.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. "Handbook of the Soviet Union." *1934. John Day. $2.*
Concise data on the significant features of Russian national economy.

ANGELL, NORMAN. "Peace and the Plain Man." *1935. Harper. $2.50.*
The economic facts about peace and war clearly stated by the 1933 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

BEALS, CARLETON. "The Crime of Cuba." *1934. Lippincott. $3.*
An accusation against "the corruption and cruelty which Cubans have inflicted upon each other and the scantily veiled imperialism of our own country's relations to the island republic." H. N. Denny, The New York Times.

BEALS, CARLETON. "Fire on the Andes." *1934. Lippincott. $3.*
"The first comprehensive analysis and survey of contemporary Peru." Ernest Gruening, The Nation.

BEARD, CHARLES A. and SMITH, G. H. E. "The Open Door at Home." *1934. Macmillan. $3.*
A sequel to "The Idea of National Interest." The search for new foreign markets in which American capital may be invested should give way to domestic production and the redistribution of wealth.

BRAILSFORD, H. N. "Property or Peace." *1934. Covici. $3.*
"A lucid book for thoughtful people, written with knowledge and sincerity by an outstanding left-wing traveler and radical observer." The Review of Reviews.

BURKE, KENNETH. "Permanence and Change." *1935. New Republic. $1.*
"A philosophical study that develops into a brilliant critique of contemporary errors of adjustment, moral and social." Matthew Josephson.

CHAMBERLIN, W. H. "Russia's Iron Age." *1934. Little. $4.*
Covering the years 1928-1933, the book presents "an attack, apparently sincere, by one who has earned the right to be heard if not believed." Ralph Thompson, Current History.

CHARLES, ENID. "The Twilight of Parenthood." *1934. Norton. $2.50.*
The problem of population in the present economic order.

CHASE, STUART. "The Economy of Abundance." *1934. Macmillan. $2.50.*
Mr. Chase makes an inventory of our resources of energy, goods and services, analyzes the economy of this new abundance and shows the advance in wellbeing that might be attained if these resources were permitted to be used in our behalf instead of being largely dissipated.

CLARK, GROVER. "The Great Wall Crumbles." *1935. Macmillan. $2.50.*
"A sympathetic and well informed study of China's history in the light of her present difficulties—and vice versa." The New Republic.

COLE, G. D. H. and MARGARET. "Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today." *1933. Knopf. $3.*
An analysis of the political and economic situation in each country of Europe.

COLE, G. D. H. and MARGARET. "Guide to Modern Politics." *1934. Knopf. $3.*
A survey of the present trend of the world.

COLE, G. D. H. "What Marx Really Meant." *1934. Knopf. $2.*
"Can be cordially recommended as an introduction to Marxism." Herman Simpson, The New Republic.

COOKE, MORRIS LLEWELLYN, ed. "What Electricity Costs." *1933. New Republic. $1.*
A symposium that offers "a brilliant and damning study of utility rates." The World Tomorrow.

COREY, LEWIS. "The Decline of American Capitalism." *1934. Covici. $4.*
"A masterly description of recent and present economic conditions in this country." Wm. MacDonald, The New York Times.

CURRY, W. B. "Education in a Changing World." *1935. Norton. $2.*
The radical changes in education that our altered world requires.

DUFFUS, R. L. "Our Starving Libraries." *1933. Houghton. $1.25.*
The facts on the retreat into which public libraries have been forced at a time when their contribution is most needed.

DURANTY, WALTER. "Duranty Reports Russia." *1934. Viking. $2.75.*
Gleanings from the work of a newspaper reporter between 1921 and 1933; "a sort of Pepys' Diary of the Russian Revolution." W. A. White, Books.

DUTT, R. PALME. "Fascism and Social Revolution." *1934. International. $2.25.*
An analysis of fascism from the standpoint that the movement represents the final desperate struggle of capitalism.

ENGELBRECHT, H. C. and HANIGHEN, F. C. "Merchants of Death." *1934. Dodd. $2.50.*
The authors reach the conclusion that "an alliance of governments with war industries threatens to make the arms makers supreme in economic life and after that in government."

ENGELBRECHT, H. C. "One Hell of a Business." *1934. McBride. $1.*
A short, outspoken commentary on the munitions investigation.

FISCHER, LOUIS. "Soviet Journey." *1935. Smith and Haas. $2.50.*
An answer to the recent attacks on Russia which describes how men and women live under the Soviets.

FLYNN, J. T. "Security Speculation: Its Economic Effects." *1934. Harcourt. $3.*
A study that "will disturb a lot of complacent assumptions about the nature, the necessity and the social value of security speculation." Henry Hazlitt, The New York Times.

GILFILLAN, LAUREN. "I Went to Pit College." *1934. Viking. $2.50.*
A Smith College girl among the Pennsylvania coal miners.

GREGG, RICHARD B. "The Power of Non-Violence." *1934. Lippincott. $2.50.*
A most realistic analysis of the principle of non-violence and how it may be employed in wars and class struggles.

HACKER, LOUIS. "A Short History of the New Deal." *1934. Crofts. $.85.*
"The author's conclusions are that the New Deal has failed

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in practice, both in agriculture and industry, and that the country is headed toward economic and political imperialism, or toward revolution." Book Review Digest.

HALLE, FANINA. "Woman in Soviet Russia." *1933. Viking. $4.50.*
The emancipation of the Russian woman.

HEIDEN, KONRAD. "History of National Socialism." *Translated from the German. 1935. Knopf. $4.50.*
"Unquestionably the most valuable piece of work on German fascism which has yet appeared." Dorothy Thompson, Books.

HENRI, ERNST. "Hitler over Europe?" *1934. Simon and Schuster. $1.90.*
Describes the shadow cast over Europe by the prospect of a world war, waged on a new secret plan, and the alternative —civil war under leadership of anti-fascist forces.

HICKS, GRANVILLE. "The Great Tradition." *1933. Macmillan. $2.50.*
An economic interpretation of American literature since the Civil War.

HINDUS, MAURICE. "The Great Offensive." *1933. Smith and Haas. $3.*
Hindus brings his narrative of the Russian experiment up to date.

HORRABIN, J. F. "An Atlas of Current Affairs." *1934. Knopf. $1.50.*
Seventy-four maps drawn to clarify the geography of current political, racial and economic events.

HOWE, QUINCY. "World Diary: 1929-1934." *1934. McBride. $3.50.*
"Achieves well its author's ambition to 'give American readers the foreign view of foreign affairs.'" Edward Angly, Books.

HUXLEY, JULIAN. "Science and Social Needs." *1935. Harper. $2.50.*
An account of contemporary scientific research which makes "a devastating indictment of the economic system under which we live." Raymond Mortimer, The New Statesman.

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION. "What Would be the Character of a New War?" *1933. Smith and Haas. $2.50.*
An alarming symposium called in England "the most terrible book ever written," which, given a wide circulation, would prevent "the next war."

LAIDLER, HARRY. "Socializing Our Democracy." *1935. Harper. $3.50.*
An evaluation of the economic philosophy and present-day program of socialism.

LASKI, HAROLD J. "The State in Theory and Practice." *1935. Viking. $3.*
"Mr. Laski's warnings are of undoubted value to those who are determined not only to preserve democracy but to further by peaceful processes its shift from a capitalistic to a socialized basis." R. C. Brooks, Books.

LEVEN, MAURICE; MOULTON, HAROLD J. and Associates. "America's Capacity to Consume." *1934. Brookings Institution. $3.*
"The distribution of the national income among families and individuals and the ways in which their income is spent." The New York Times.

LOEB, H. A. and Associates. "The Chart of Plenty." *1935. Viking. $2.50.*
A survey of America's productive capacity.

MARSHALL, ROBERT. "The People's Forests." *1933. Smith and Haas. $2.*
A plea for national ownership of what remains of our forests.

MATTHEWS, J. B. and SHALLCROSS, R. E. "Partners in Plunder." *1935. Covici. $2.50.*
An exposure of the unholy alliance between big business and the government, which the authors offer as "another Consumer's Research book that names names and explodes dynamite in high places."

MUMFORD, LEWIS. "Technics and Civilization." *1934. Harcourt. $4.50.*
The development of machine civilization and its social significance.

NEWSHOLME, SIR ARTHUR and KINGSBURY, JOHN A. "Red Medicine." *1933. Doubleday. $2.50.*
An informative study of socialized medicine as it has developed in Russia.

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD. "Reflections on the End of an Era." *1934. Scribner's. $2.*
An interpretation of modern culture marked by "economic insight, social progressiveness and personal courage." H. E. Barnes, The American Journal of Sociology.

NOURSE, EDWIN G. and Associates. "America's Capacity to Produce." *1934. Brookings Institution. $3.50.*
A realistic appraisal of our productive capacity. Readable and authoritative.

OGBURN, W. F. and others. "Social Change and the New Deal." *1934. Chicago. $1.*
Thirteen articles, reprinted from The American Journal of Sociology for May, 1934, focused on the recovery and reconstruction efforts of 1933.

PEARSON, DREW and BROWN, CONSTANTINE. "The American Diplomatic Game." *1935. Doubleday. $3.*
Two well known reporters, one of them co-author of "Washington Merry-Go-Round," tell of the behind-the-scenes story of America's foreign-relations policies from the World War to the present.

POKROVSKY, M. N. "Brief History of Russia." *2 vols. 1933. International. Pop. Ed. $2 each vol.*
"The first available history of a nation written completely from the Marxist point of view." Isidor Schneider, Books.

POSTGATE, RAYMOND W. "How to Make a Revolution." *1934. Vanguard. $1.90.*
A study of the methods followed by different revolutionary parties, by a man who thinks that all of them were mistaken.

RADIN, PAUL. "The Racial Myth." *1934. McGraw-Hill. $1.50.*
"Protest of a professional anthropologist against the Nordic myth in its present German-Fascist embodiment." The New Republic.

RAUTENSTRAUCH, WALTER. "Who Gets the Money?" *1934. Harper. $1.*
Data on the distribution of your income.

RIEGEL, O. W. "Mobilizing for Chaos; the story of the new propaganda." *1934. Yale. $2.50.*
A penetrating study of the pressure used by governments in their censorship of the press. The author "shows an admirably impartial hostility to any influence that threatens disinterested and objective news reporting." Elmer Davis, The New York Times.

RIVERA, DIEGO and WOLFE, BERTRAM D. "Portrait of America." *1934. Covici. $3.50.*
Sixty reproductions of Rivera's work in America, with explanatory text.

RORTY, JAMES. "Our Master's Voice." *1934. John Day. $3.*
An indictment of the advertising racket.

ROSENBERG, ARTHUR. "History of Bolshevism; from Marx to the first five years' plan." *1934. Oxford. $3.75.*
"One of the most instructive books yet published on the history of Bolshevism." W. L. Langer, Foreign Affairs.

RUBINOW, I. M. "The Quest for Security." *1934. Holt. $3.50.*
An able study of the problems of social insurance.

RUSSELL, BERTRAND. "Freedom versus Organization, 1814-1914." *1934. Norton. $3.50.*
An exciting history of political change in the nineteenth century.

RUSSELL, BERTRAND; HOOK, SIDNEY, and others. "The Meaning of Marx; a symposium." *1934. Farrar. $1.*
Five authors discuss Marxism. "Broadly speaking, Hook and Eddy are reverent Marxians, while Russell, Dewey and Cohen are not." Fabian Franklin, The Saturday Review.

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SELDES, GEORGE. "Iron, Blood and Profits." *1934. Harper. $2.50.*
An exposure of the worldwide munitions racket.

SMEDLEY, AGNES. "China's Red Army Marches." *1934. Vanguard. $2.50.*
The struggles of the Chinese Soviets from 1927 to 1931, portrayed in a series of narrative episodes.

SOULE, GEORGE. "The Coming American Revolution." *1934. Macmillan. $2.50.*
An accurate and restrained commentary on the present turn of social evolution (revolution to Soule), with a reasonable guess as to its outcome.

STALLINGS, LAURENCE, ed. "The First World War; a photographic history." *1933. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.*
Over five hundred photographs whose cumulative effect is a strong plea for pacifism.

STOLBERG, BENJAMIN and VINTON, WARREN JAY. "Economic Consequences of the New Deal." *1935. Harcourt. $1.*
"There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake." The Authors.

STRACHEY, JOHN. "The Menace of Fascism." *1933. Covici. $2.25.*
"An advanced treatise on Fascism which reads as simply as a primer." Malcolm Cowley, The New Republic.

STRACHEY, JOHN. "The Nature of the Capitalist Crisis." *1935. Covici. $3.*
A Marxian interpretation of the depression.

SYMES, LILLIAN and CLEMENT, TRAVERS. "Rebel America." *1934. Harper. $3.*
"The entrancing story of America's rebellious minorities of the past century and a half." R. C. Feld, The New York Times.

THOMAS, NORMAN. "The Choice Before Us: Mankind at the Crossroads." *1934. Macmillan. $2.50.*
A calm and persuasive statement "of where we are, of where we are going and of where we ought to go." E. S. Bates, The New Republic.

THOMAS, NORMAN. "Human Exploitation." *1934. Stokes. $2.75.*
What capitalism and competition have done to the laboring classes in the United States.

VAN KLEECK, MARY. "Miners and Management." *1934. Russell Sage Foundation. $2.*
"A study of the collective agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company and an analysis of the problem in the United States."

VAN KLEECK, MARY and FLEDDÉRUS, M. L., eds. "On Economic Planning." *1935. Covici. $2.50.*
A symposium covering the different types of economic planning, under capitalism and under socialism.

WERNER, M. R. "Privileged Characters." *1935. McBride. $3.75.*
A history of the Harding scandals, with chapters on the shipbuilding propaganda, air-mail monopoly and banking practices of the Coolidge-Hoover era.

WEST, REBECCA; PRIESTLY, J. B. and others. "Challenge to Death." *1935. Dutton. $2.*
Fifteen British authors write a symposium against war.

MEN AND WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD

Biographies and Autobiographies

ADAMIC, LOUIS. "The Native's Return." *1934. Harper. $2.75.*
A narrative of a Slovenian's homecoming which has "lasting value as comment upon peasant and industrial culture and upon the political situation in one of the war-breeding areas of Europe." Herschel Brickell, The New York Post.

BILLINGER, KARL. "Fatherland." *1935. Farrar. $2.50.*
A picture of German life under Fascism describing particularly the persecution of radicals.

FOX, RALPH. "Lenin." *1934. Harcourt. $2.*
The best book on the career of Lenin.

HILLQUIT, MORRIS. "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life." *1934. Macmillan. $2.50.*
"An excellent autobiography which is at the same time a priceless history of American socialism for forty years." Herschel Brickell, The North American Review.

JOSEPHSON, MATTHEW. "The Robber Barons." *1934. Harcourt. $3.50.*
"Describes the machinations of the men who make political corruption possible." H. F. Pringle, Books.

KROMER, TOM. "Waiting for Nothing." *1935. Knopf. $2.*
The autobiography of a "forgotten man."

MARX AND ENGELS. "The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels." *1935. International. $3.50.*
"The letters of two friends with a prodigious interest in everything that went on in the world." The New Republic.

O'CONNOR, HARVEY. "Mellon's Millions." *1933. John Day. $3.*
A documented story of the amassing by monopolistic practices of one of America's biggest fortunes.

SHEEAN, VINCENT. "Personal History." *1935. Doubleday. $3.*
A picture of youth and revolution and of a newspaper reporter's relation to living history.

STRONG, ANNA LOUISE. "I Change Worlds." *1935. Holt. $3.*
An autobiography, dealing chiefly with the process by which an American woman left her old world and began a new life in Russia.

TAN SHIH-HUA. "A Chinese Testament." As told to S. Tretiakov. *1934. Simon and Schuster. $3.*
An autobiography that reveals "what is happening to the individual in a country whose life is in transition." Herschel Brickell, The New York Post.

TOLLER, ERNST. "I Was a German." *1934. Morrow. $2.75.*
The autobiography of an exiled German dramatist.

WELLS, H. G. "Experiment in Autobiography." *1934. Macmillan. $4.*
A curiously revealing autobiography which offers an interesting criticism of nineteenth and twentieth-century socialism.

Fiction

BATES, RALPH. "Lean Men." *1935. Macmillan. $2.50.*
A novel of the Spanish revolution of 1931.

BROPHY, JOHN. "The World Went Mad." *1935. Macmillan. $2.50.*
An English family as victims of war.

BRUNNGRABER, RUDOLF. "Karl and the Twentieth Century." *1933. Morrow. $2.50.*
The tragedy of an unemployed ex-soldier in the midst of industrial and social changes.

CANTWELL, ROBERT. "The Land of Plenty." *1934. Farrar. $2.50.*
Class discord in a Pacific Coast lumber mill.

CONROY, JACK. "The Disinherited." *1933. Covici. $2.*
An autobiographical novel of an American worker.

DAHLBERG, EDWARD. "Those Who Perish." *1934. John Day. $2*
A psychological novel describing the influence of Hitlerism upon the American Jew.

EHRENBOURG, ILYA. "Out of Chaos." *1934. Holt. $2.50.*
The conflict between old and new Russia.

FEUCHTWANGER, LION. "The Oppermanns." *1934. Viking. $2.50.*
"A passionate and moving book which will undoubtedly disturb the complacency of any who yet remain indifferent to the present course of events in Germany." Herbert Reed, The Spectator.

HALPER, ALBERT. "The Foundry." *1934. Viking. $2.50.*
A novel of an electrotyping foundry in Chicago which ends with the crash of 1929 and forebodings of the future.

HERBST, JOSEPHINE. "The Executioner Waits." *1934. Harcourt. $2.50.*
A sequal to "Pity is Not Enough," carrying the story of American middle-class life from 1918 to 1929.

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KATAEV, VALENTINE. "Time, Forward!" *1933. Farrar. $2.50.*
A story of the heroism and devotion of Russian workers to the Five Year Plan.

LARSSON, GOSTA. "Our Daily Bread." *1934. Vanguard. $2.50.*
A vivid and human novel about a Swedish family and the Swedish proletariat during the Swedish general strike.

MALRAUX, ANDRÉ. "Man's Fate." *1934. Smith and Haas. $2.50.*
A remarkably stirring novel about the Chinese revolution of 1927.

NEWHOUSE, EDWARD. "You Can't Sleep Here." *1934. Macaulay. $2.*
"Story of a young New York reporter who loses his job and descends through all the strata of economic insecurity." Book Review Digest.

O'FAOLÁIN, SEÁN. "A Nest of Simple Folk." *1934. Viking. $2.50.*
A novel of the long struggle for Irish freedom.

PLIVIER, THEODOR. "The Kaiser Goes: the Generals Remain." *1933. Macmillan. $2.*
The story of the revolution in Germany in November, 1918, which deserves the attention of anyone who wishes to understand the impelling motives behind the temper of the German people today." Books.

ROLLINS, WILLIAM. "The Shadow Before." *1934. McBride. $2.50.*
A novel of a strike in a large textile mill. "When you've read it, you've been through a strike." John Dos Passos, The New Republic.

SHOLOKHOV, MIKHAIL. "And Quiet Flows the Don." *1934. Knopf. $3.*
"The story of the Don Cossack village through peace, war, revolution and civil strife." The Saturday Review.

SILONE, IGNAZIO. "Fontamara." *1934. Smith and Haas. $2.50.*
A novel of Fascist Italy. "The best thing to come out of Italy for years." The Forum.

TRAVEN, BRUNO. "The Death Ship; the story of an American sailor." *1934. Knopf. $2.50.*
"It manages to convey the most realistic and terrible impression I have run across in many years of the misery and wasteful sacrifice of life that goes on among the underdogs of the world." Lincoln Colcord, Books.

WERFEL, FRANZ. "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh." *1934. Viking. $3.*
A story of the amazing forty days' resistance of the Turks by the Armenians, trapped on the mountain, Musa Dagh. Full of the breath, flesh, blood and spirit of life.

DRAMA AND POETRY OF REVOLT

Drama

LYONS, EUGENE, ed. "Six Soviet Plays." *1934. Houghton. $3.*
The preface to each play gives the synopsis, as well as something of its history and social background. Maurice Hindus calls this book as important as "New Russia's Primer."

PETERS, PAUL and SKLAR, GEORGE. "Stevedore." *1934. Covici. $1.50.*
An exciting play in which the Negro enters the workers' struggle.

RICE, ELMER. "Judgment Day." *1934. Coward-McCann. $2.*
A satire on Hitlerism.

SKLAR, GEORGE and MALTZ, ALBERT. "Peace on Earth." *1934. French. $.75.*
The first play of the Theatre Union, showing the events leading to another war and the resulting suppression of all opposition.

WEXLEY, JOHN. "They Shall Not Die." *1934. Knopf. $2.*
A realistic drama of the Scottsboro case produced by the Theatre Guild in New York.

WOLF, FRIEDRICH. "Sailors of Cattaro." *1935. French. $1.50.*
Revolt on the high seas.

Poetry

GREGORY, HORACE. "Chorus for Survival." *1935. Covici. $2.*
A poet reviews the American past and makes a plea for regeneration in the future.

LEWIS, C. DAY. "Collected Poems, 1929-1933." *1935. Random House. $2.50.*
Contains a fine sequence of poems—"The Magnetic Mountain"—in praise of a new society.

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD. "Panic." *1935. Houghton. $2.*
The banking crisis of March, 1933, in terms of poetic drama.

RIDGE, LOLA. "Dance of Fire." *1935. Smith and Haas. $2.*
Includes a long poem on Sacco and Vanzetti and a series of eloquent sonnets.

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Poems of the class struggle prefaced by an essay "Toward Revolutionary Poetry."

SPENDER, STEPHEN. "Poems." *1934. Random House. $1.50.*
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NEW EDITIONS

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COLE, G. D. H. "Guide through World Chaos." *1934. Knopf. $2.*
Why the world is wrecked and how it may be salvaged.

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Not Without Bias

I BEG TO differ with the critics who hold that William Henry Chamberlin's history of the Russian revolution[1] is a masterpiece of impartiality and scholarly detachment. I beg to differ with the statement by his publishers that "The author's purpose has been to eschew any political or economic bias or dogmatism." I beg to differ with the author himself when he says that he has offered "only as much personal interpretation as seemed quite indispensable." The truth of the matter is that nobody can write about the Russian revolution, that nobody will be able to write about it for the next hundred years, without revealing partiality and political bias and purely subjective judgments. There is no use quarreling with Chamberlin for not having performed a miracle. The real trouble is that he has concealed his partisanship behind a screen of facts and has shifted his interpretation from chapter to chapter.

The first volume of his long work deals chiefly with the year 1917; it describes the overthrow of the Tsar, the disintegration of the army, the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November and the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. The second volume deals with intervention, civil war, the Polish campaign and the end of war communism in 1921. In a final chapter, "The Revolution in Retrospect," Chamberlin comes as near as is humanly possible to writing a statement that might be endorsed by a joint congress of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, of Whites and Reds. That in itself is a considerable achievement. But nowhere else in the two volumes does he approach his own ideal of "objective detachment" and justice to both sides.

Curiously, when you consider Chamberlin's recent attitude towards the Soviets, his first volume seems mildly pro-Bolshevik in attitude and even hesitatingly Marxian. Perhaps it was written or outlined several years ago, before he underwent his change of faith. But I am more inclined to believe that it was influenced by the work of three Marxian writers who dealt with the same period. M. N. Pokrovsky is one of these; his "Brief History of Russia" contains the best statement of the economic forces that led to the revolution. Trotsky and John Reed are the other two. Chamberlin has studied all of them, but his debt to Trotsky is obvious to the dullest reader. This doesn't mean that he copies Trotsky line for line; quite on the contrary he has gone back to the original sources. But he has been outargued and overawed by Trotsky, he has followed Trotsky's pattern of interpretation, and this would explain his relatively favorable treatment of the Bolsheviks in the chapters describing their growth as a party and how they seized power.

There is no history, Red or White, that covers the years 1918-21 on the same scale and with the same plausibility with which Trotsky covers the eight months of actual revolution. In his second volume, therefore, Chamberlin was breaking new ground. He had plenty of original sources to depend on, hundreds and thousands of memoirs, manifestoes, reports of Party congresses. He has done valuable work in collecting them and in translating some of the most important documents. But when it came to arranging and judging this material he had no guide except his own ideas, which were wavering, and his hostility towards the Soviets, which was increasing from month to month.

The anti-Bolshevik bias of his second volume is not a question of dates or names, quotations or statistics. In regard to all of these he shows the attitude of a trained newspaper man, which is close to that of a trained scholar. His prejudice is almost entirely a matter of emphasis and moral color. Most clearly and amusingly it is shown in the adjectives he applies to the White and the Red armies. Thus, the White soldiers are time and again described as "heroic, romantic, quixotic"; they are men of "resolute courage." Their cavalry leaders, like Babeiev, are "dashing" and "gallant" (whereas the Red leader Budenny, who outrode and outfought them, has to struggle along without any adjectives whatever). Admiral Kolchak was "a man of passionate integrity."—"Quiet fortitude, crystal integrity, unselfish devotion to his ideal of patriotism" are the qualities reflected in Denikin's memoirs. Even poor Slaschev "was a resolute and courageous commander, despite the fact that he had a weakness for drink and drugs."

The Reds, on the other hand, were disagreeable people, "fanatical" if they were leaders and "brutalized" if they were rank and file. In the field they never won battles unless the odds were overwhelmingly on their side. At home, they depended chiefly on "resources of espionage and terrorism." They encouraged the illiterate mob to carry out "a veritable pogrom against the educated classes." This must have been a suicidal policy, considering that the Bolshevik leaders were the most highly educated class in Russia. What Chamberlin really means is "rich" and "privileged," but he must have sensed that these words would have less effect on the sympathies of his audience.

His bias is revealed even more decisively in the space he gives to the crimes committed by both sides. In a chapter called "Terror, Red and White," there are fourteen pages devoted to executions by the Tcheka and exactly one page devoted to the shootings and drownings and clubbings-to-death of all the White armies on all the seven counter-revolutionary fronts. At the end of this page he says that "instances of White, as of Red, atrocities could be multiplied indefinitely; only a blind partisan would endeavor to deny that the civil war . . . was fought on both sides with extraordinary ferocity." This is true unquestionably—but one would think from reading Chamberlin that the Reds were at least fourteen times as ferocious as their enemies.

There are hundreds of passages in which he emphasizes the bad qualities of the Reds and minimizes those of the Whites. Thus, he allots several lines to the murders committed by a drunken commissar in the Central Asiatic desert, but he has only one sentence for the White terror in Finland, which preceded the Red terror in Russia and helped to explain it. Again, he devotes the greater part of two chapters to the disorganization behind the Red lines, but gives only scattered paragraphs to the disorganization behind the White lines, without which the defeat of the White armies would be impossible to understand. Finally his picture of the Soviets becomes so bleak and bloodstained that he finds himself in a historical dilemma. "How," he asks, "could such a system survive under the pressure of civil war and blockade? Why did it not simply topple over from its own inherent elements of weakness and futility?" He gives several halting answers, one of which is "the devoted fanaticism of the sincere Communists." But he never stops to wonder why the Communists were sincere and fanatical in their devotion to such a futile government, or why they could always find supporters among the people they were supposed to be starving and murdering. Maybe he has decided that the Russians were all crazy, except the educated and rich minority.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

[1] The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921, by William Henry Chamberlin. New York: The Macmillan Company. 2 vols. 1087 pages. $10.

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The Gull's Hornbook

Let's Get What We Want! by Walter B. Pitkin. New York: Simon and Schuster. 300 pages. $2.

PROFESSOR Walter B. Pitkin claims to have written a book for "you the consumer." But you the consumer had better look sharp. In advertising circles, it is reported that Mr. Pitkin's book was sponsored by big producers and advertisers. It is part of a new crusade to resell women on the value of advertising, to make them open their pocketbooks again, and to keep Congress from passing any legislation from which consumers might benefit.

The reasons for this crusade are two: the manufacturers of nationally advertised products are getting worried over the growing revolt among women against the fraudulent, untruthful character of advertising; and they fear that some stringent legislation may be forced through Congress. Recently, Mrs. Anna Steese Richardson, an editor of The Woman's Home Companion for thirty-three years, went on a lecture tour to enlighten the women of the country on the ultimate virtues in advertising. But her report on returning was startling. "Time and again," she declared, "I felt as if I were beating my bare fists against the stone wall of prejudice." Her suggestion to the advertising industry was that it should immediately clean up advertising and take steps to "educate the women who have been prejudiced against advertising into an appreciation of advertising's true value."

This posed something of a dilemma. The advertising industry is incapable of regulating itself and it is utterly opposed to any regulation from without—such as a federal law forcing all advertisements to be truthful. The alternative, of course, was to forget about truthfulness and, instead, "educate" the women. Naturally, that could not be done too openly. It was necessary to create some kind of "front" and find suitable emissaries. And this is where Pitkin and his book take on special significance.

According to the advertising trade journal, Tide, it was decided to form a National Advisory Council of Consumers and Producers—a sort of united front on the program that advertising's oakie-doke and women must be told about it. The plan of the N.A.C.C.P. was to set up a network of local councils throughout the country, where consumers and producers could get together, of course, under the guidance of the National Council. To quote Tide: "It was up to the advertisers to pay the bills for the outfit. Mrs. Sporborg [of the General Federation of Women's Clubs] made speeches and Dr. Pitkin wrote a book."

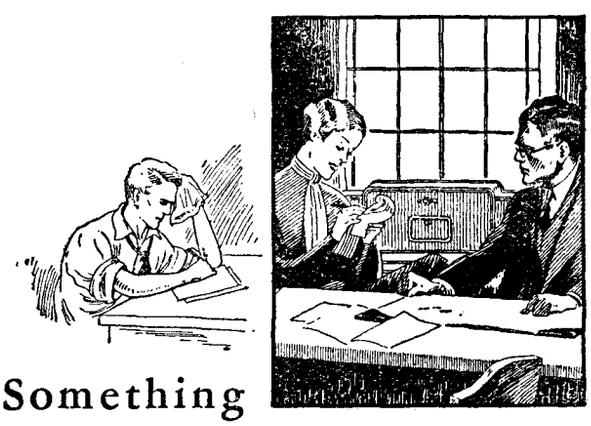
Of "Let's Get What We Want!" it may be said that the advertisers could have got or bought nothing better. It is in one sense, a very thoroughgoing job. In it one may find virtually all of the propaganda against consumer legislation that the patent-medicine men, the food manufacturers and other advertisers have been able to concoct in their fight against the Copeland Pure Food and Drug Bill. I have had occasion to read most of this propaganda during the past two years and, so far as I am aware, Mr. Pitkin has not missed any of it. The advice of Consumers' Research is "shrill and silly chatter" and "anti-social." The American Medical Association is old-fashioned in its opposition to advertising. Self-medication gets a boost because the educated man today "really knows as much about mild ailments as did the physician of half a century ago," because we are "body-conscious," and because Professor Pitkin once cured himself of indigestion after two doctors had failed to help him. Also, a table shows that advertised patent medicines are cheaper than doctors' prescriptions.

Of course, this is a book for consumers and Professor Pitkin would not like to give the impression that consumers do not get cheated in buying food, clothing and other necessities. But is this the fault of the big producers and national advertisers? Professor Pitkin does not think so. The machine, he argues, forces them to be honest. The essence of his hypothesis runs as follows:

> . . . the high technological level of Capitalist America imposes on its members a peculiarly rigid code of ethics. *For machines make factories moral.* Capitalist Americans cannot easily cheat in quality of raw material and in substandard workmanship.

Who, then, cheats the consumer? There is, it seems, a criminal, "coolie" element. They are the small producers, who operate on a low technological level and pay sweatshop wages. Their products are anonymous, unbranded, unadvertised and are handled by unscrupulous retailers.

And what is the remedy? Professor Pitkin does not believe that the consumer needs any further legislative protection. But perhaps women should organize little clubs, compare notes on shopping and, if they are dissatisfied with some product, get in touch with the producer. He will be interested to hear the complaint and may do something about it. For the idea that there is any conflict between the interests of consumers and producers is simply silly. It is as unreal as the "famous class war of Karl Marx, that odd metaphysician and egocentric who has been befuddling sophomores for a hundred years." In brief, Professor Pitkin feels that the whole problem of consumer welfare and public health has been distorted. Why worry so much about those who are poisoned by patent medicines, when so many more are killed in automobile accidents?



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Thus, out of this pot-pourri of propaganda, the great producer and national advertiser emerges with a halo—a saint consecrated to the service of the consumer, a happy sort of saint, too, who can't go wrong because the highly moral machine that turns out his nationally advertised biscuits or bedsprings won't let him. This is, presumably, the mature judgment of Walter B. Pitkin, professor of Journalism at Columbia University, former philosopher and editor of "The New Realism," one-time student at the Sorbonne, the University of Munich, the University of Berlin and the Hartford Theological Seminary.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

A Family in Terror

Weep Not for the Dead, by Michel Matveev. Translated by Desmond Flower. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 297 pages. $2.50.

"WEEP NOT FOR THE DEAD" is not a novel; every detail in it is true. But the author's powers of expression are those of an artist, and the grim unity of his book makes it more like a work of art than an autobiography. He tells the story of a family of Jews fleeing before the White Russian pogroms in 1919, and of their wanderings and torments in inhospitable lands. For several weeks, Matveev and his family hung between death and life, waiting for a decision in the cellars of the Rumanian secret police. And even when they did escape, it was thanks largely not to justice, but to the petty wounded vanity of some police official.

Millions of similar episodes have occurred in Europe since the War, and are still occurring. But victims of oppression rarely find a Matveev to tell their story. His book has almost no parallel. Even the Jewish poets of the Spanish Inquisition, of whom Matveev sometimes reminds me, had a deep religious faith to soften the shock of reality. Here, the artist's sensitivity is in direct contact with torture and death. It is a debate between the "to be" and the "not to be" that takes place in these three hundred pages, under a tragic light that throws shadows of unexpected depth, beside which the ordinary business of life and the reactions of normal people stand out in grotesque absurdity. Matveev's style has a peculiar tension, which arises from the constant effort he makes to overcome his reluctance to speak, to relive these atrocious memories.

Torn from their country and their past, these refugees had only one thing left: "life." Matveev could actually experience what certain modern novelists try to imagine in their armchairs: the pure essence of living, which appears to them as some mysterious state of being above the turmoil of events. Matveev shows us the material condition of this "life"; the savagery of the modern state expressing its fear of revolution. The dream novelists love to represent as some unattainable acme and mystery is the only life left to those oppressed by executioners and policemen. "Weep Not for the Dead" is both a fine indictment of this ideal of "pure" animal living, which in actuality is without social dignity, or any value other than itself, and a condemnation of the superficial attitudes that thrive in the usual unawareness of life's real tragedies. Thus it is, by implication, a call to heroism and revolt. But only by implication; for the author makes no effort to generalize or to draw conclusions. He has limited himself to recounting every century-long minute, every cruel edge of his experience with the exactitude and tautness of living flesh, following the knife that stabs it. NORBERT GUTERMAN.

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Worker in a New World

Moscow Yankee, by Myra Page. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

IF THIS book isn't sold widely and read with enthusiasm I'm going to be pretty mad about it. It will be just one more indication that left-wing writers can't reach their proper audience; or that sympathetic readers *won't* read revolutionary novels. This isn't a great novel, and I don't suppose Myra Page thinks it is; from the standpoint of perfection (whatever that is) you could find plenty of fault with it. But it is a very interesting story; and it does deal with one of the two or three really important themes of our time: human relationships and attitudes within the Soviet Union.

Andy, the hero, is a Detroit mechanic who (after a long stretch of unemployment) gets a job in a Moscow auto shop. When he arrives in the center of socialist construction he brings a lot of mild prejudices and the good-natured conviction that American ways are superior; but his first year in Moscow changes all that. We get vivid glimpses into many lives: factory workers and devoted Party members, treacherous White Guards disguised as workers, and American specialists and their families. But these glimpses transcend simple reporting in their dramatic significance: every character, whether in factory, concert hall or café, is shown in terms of his attitude toward the new world that is being created. The book's excitement comes partly, I think, from your sense of looking through Andy's eyes and seeing Moscow as he must have seen it; you wonder with a good deal of suspense whether he will join the *udarniks* and marry Natasha or go back to Detroit and his American ideals. And with his final acceptance of new friends and new values comes a thrill of participation.

The book is one that should be enjoyed by anyone interested in the Soviet Union. REBECCA PITTS.

The Flush of the Apple

Fully Dressed and in His Right Mind, by Michael Fessier. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

THOUGH it has enough individuality to make comparisons needless, the best way of getting an idea of Fessier's writing is to imagine James Stevens without the pixies and with a stiff lashing of Dashiell Hammett. It handles the supernatural without so much as the batting of an eye; it couples a droll and brilliant word economy with a lot of fine colloquialism and the tendency to be always having another at Mike's, what the hell. And it talks about the most outrageous facts of humanity—the violence of sudden death, the bewilderment and sinking feeling of being framed, the third degree in a police court—in the most pleasantly casual tone of voice. ("Herrick and Farland were drinking in their hotel room and when Herrick had his back turned I walked in and picked up a revolver he'd unpacked from his bag and shot him. He was a big man and the room shook when he fell.")

The story is simple and brief. An objective though interested young chap is suddenly brought in contact with evil in the form of a mild and neatly dressed little old man, who hates people, just hates them. The little old man pops up everywhere; he is so innocent and ineffectual he can bump off and rub out anybody, which he does. Ultimately he frames the young man, who has become completely daffy

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over a honey of a young woman with a taste for swimming naked in the lake every night, cutting the water like a fish and turning out to have a love life patterned somewhat along the same lines.

It just runs along like that, with Beauty and Evil abstracted to the point of absolute unbelief, yet with the whole anchored in reality by the idiom of commonplace life, by the continual presence of bartenders, policemen, janitors and ordinary family troubles. (Faugh, what a man I married, George's wife would be saying. "'You married a better man than your mother did,' said George.")

In fine, it is delightful and fresh reading, from start almost to finish. But here is the point, here is where all these masters of violence through understatement fall down. Their show lasts just so long as they can keep from being serious, so long as they don't have to feel anything for anybody, or mean anything. A story needs an end and an end needs a reason, a foundation in the lives of real people; and when in the interests of excitement foundations aren't even considered until everything has been built, the structure seems bound to end up with just such squashy silliness as Fessier is guilty of before he is through. "Fully Dressed and in His Right Mind" is pleasurable reading up to the point where you begin to see that the redness of the apple is really a fever blush, made possible only by an inner sickness. That Michael Fessier blew up at the end of this one novel means little; but it would be a serious disappointment if so fine a talent should, in return for brief fame and profit, continue to bow itself definitely out of literature, which may not live by talent alone. OTIS FERGUSON.

Climate of Cotton

Siesta, by Berry Fleming. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THE PUBLISHERS describe this novel as a Southern "Main Street"; it would have been more apt to call "Siesta" an Alabama "South Wind." For Mr. Fleming has an amused, urbane mind, and his book presents not so much the crassness and narrowness of a provincial town as the effects of climate on a number of more or less civilized people, visitors and natives. Georgetown is a fictional town in a real country of sandy plains and cotton growers. Thither arrive for a summer of drought and sweltering heat a New Englander with a personal mission; the medical son of a country doctor, returning from Paris; Sergey Pavinovsky, in New York a ballet dancer, but in Alabama once more merely the son of the local Russian-Jew shoemaker; and a couple reduced to their last eighty dollars and ager to taste Southern hospitality. It is through them and others who have come home earlier, rather than through the permanent residents, that Georgetown is seen; Mr. Fleming is thus allowed to consider the South in terms of intelligence. This makes for wit, which is not absent—either from the elaborate fooling of his similes, the magnificent genealogy of the assistant manager of the Sinclair filling station, or from the gruesome murder of the mulatto girl, the almost farcical murder *manqué* of the cotton factor. In the end the sun is triumphant. All but the sponging couple have succumbed. Not even the high-powered newspaper editor sent down from Detroit can succeed against the social consciousness of the South, in which the individual, both in his ambitions and in his misdeeds, counts for so little. It was not for nothing, as Mr. Fleming makes clear, that the older Southerner placed lofty Roman

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columns at the front of his house, while the rear remained a Negro slovenliness. JOHN PEALE BISHOP.

A Silver Rattle, by Sylvia Thompson. Boston: Little Brown and Company. $2.

A writer who can be bitter-sweet but prefers to be mostly sweet, Miss Thompson has developed the faculty of slapping people's faces one moment and patting their heads for the next two in such a way that nobody's feelings are ever hurt. "A Silver Rattle" is the story of Francesca and her two love affairs. The first was as callow as one could expect from a girl, young and eager to be somebody's wife, falling in love with an artist who has poetic features and "beautiful and unsteady" hands. Coming while she was still married to Adrian, her second love found her better equipped. Frederick had all the charm of Adrian, no unsteady hands and, what was equally important to Francesca (at least, between the lines of the story), a substantial position in society. The author has crowded Francesca's story with portraits of characters of both the silver and the tin-rattle strata of London life. Entertaining and satirical as some of these sketches are, they give a disorganized air to the novel and strength to the suspicion that Miss Thompson is trying to seem like something more than Miss Thompson. JERRE MANGIONE.

Contributors

CHARLES E. CLARK, a member of the Connecticut bar, is Dean of the Yale School of Law and author of several books ("Code Pleading," "Real Covenants," etc.) and articles in the law journals.

HYMAN LEVY, F.R.S.E., professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, has written "Aeronautics in Theory and Experiment," "Science in the Changing World," "The Universe of Science" and many other books.

NEWTON ARVIN'S writing in the field of literary criticism and biography has been recognized by one of this year's Guggenheim Fellowships.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL is a member of the American Institute of Architects.

MAX LERNER was associate professor of "The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," is at present professor of the Social Sciences at Sarah Lawrence College, and has been appointed Lecturer in Government at Harvard.

MARYA ZATURENSKA is a Russian by birth and an American poet in her own right. Her book, "Threshold and Hearth," was published last fall by Macmillan.

NORBERT GUTERMAN was a Russian journalist, then a French journalist, and has been an American journalist and translator for several years.

REBECCA PITTS, a graduate of Butler and the University of Chicago, lives in Indianapolis and has contributed to The New Masses and Opinion.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP was born almost in the South (Charlestown, West Virginia) and has turned his hand to editing (Vanity Fair), poetry ("Now with His Love"), the novel ("Act of Darkness") and reviewing.

JERRE MANGIONE works for a publisher and has written for The New Masses, The London Spectator, The Literary Digest, The Daily Worker, The New Republic.

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